

203

THE GOL
DEN
BOKE OF MARCVS
AVRELIVS EMPE
ROVR AND
ELO
VENT ORATOVR.

ANNO. M. D. XXXIX.



THE TABLE.



If the bythe and lynage of Marke Iurely Anthony emperour. Cap. primo.

Cwhat maysters Marke Iurely had in his pouthe. cap. ii.

Cwhat sciences Marcus the emperour learned, and of a metuaylous letter that he sente to Polion. capitulo. iii.

Chowe for the wysedome of Marcus many wyse menne flourished in his tyme. capit. iv.

COf the emperour Marcus sonne named Uerissimus. capit. v.

Cwhat wyse and auncient men Marcus chose to instruct his sonne. capitulo. vi.

Chowe it chaunced to syue wyse menne, wherfore they were put out of the emperours house. capit. vii.

Chowe the emperour reasoned with the maysters that shulde letne his sonne. capit. viii.

Chowe the maisters of princes ought to kepe them from vices. cap. ix.

Chowe the emperour Marcus nourished the prinesses his doughters. capit. x.

Chowe Marcus the emperour dyd chose and proued his sonnes in lawe. capit. xi.

Cwhat the emperour Marcus sayde to the fater of a yonge manne, that wolde marry one of his doughters. capitulo. xii.

Chowe a sonne in lawe oughte to be well examined et he be accepted to his purpose. capi. xiii.

Chowe Marc the emperour fauoured all noble exercyses, and hated trewandes and fooles. capit. xiii.

COf the good conuersation of this emperour Marcus Iurelius. capi. xv.

¶

THE TABLE.

¶ Of the feaste that the Romaynes kept to the god Jano
in Rome, and what chaunced to the sayd Emperour there
Capit. xvi.

Howe Marcus the Emperour aunswered a senator in the
Senate. Cap. xvii.

Howe the emperour Marcus deuyded the howres of the day
for the busynesses of the empre. Capitulo. xviii.

The aunswere of Marke thempetour what Faustine his
wyfe demaunded the keye of his study. Cap. xix.

The emperour reherseth the petylls of them that haunte
women excessively. Capitulo. xx.

The emperours aunswere to Faustine for that she said she
was with chylde. Capit. xxi.

Howe tudynges was brought to thempetour, that the Mau-
taynes wolde conqueire great Brytan. Cap. xxii.

What the emperour sayd to them of his courte in eschew-
yng ydelnesse. Cap. xxiii.

Of the petyllous lyuyng of them that haunte the courte
continually. Cap. xxvii.

Howe the emperour wolde haue them of his courte to lyue,
Capitulo. xxv.

Of a metuaylous and fearefull monstre that was sene in
Sicile, and of his wrynges. Cap. xxvi.

What befelle to a citesen of Rome in the tyme of this em-
perour Marcus. Cap. xxvii.

Of a great pestilence that was in Italy in this emperours
tyme. Cap. xxviii.

Howe Marcus answered his phisitions that wolde haue
hym leaue his study. Cap. xxix.

Howe science ought to be in princis. Capit. xxx.

What a byllayn sayde to the Senatours of Rome in the
presence of thempetour. Cap. xxxi.

Of dyuers other thynges that the byllayn sayd before the
Senate

cap. xxxit.

Senate. Howe the emperour desyzed the welthe of his people, and
the people his welthe. cap. xxxiii.

Howe the emperour gaue Lucilla his daughter licence to
spouse her at his palays. cap. xxxiii.

What Marcus the emperour sayd to a Senatour as touchyng
triumphes. cap. xxxv.

Of the great reproche that the emperour gaue to his wyfe
Faustine and her daughter. cap. xxxvi.

Howe the emperour counsayled Faustyne to eschewe ylle
occasions of her daughter. cap. xxxvii.

What thoughte Marcus the emperour toke for the mar-
age of his daughters. cap. xxxviii.

Of a spcknes, wherof the emperour dyed, of his age, and
wher he dyed. cap. xxxix.

The wordes of Panutius, secretary to the emperour, at the
houre of his deathe. cap. xl.

Howe the emperour demanded to haue in wrytyng all
that the secretary had sayde. cap. xli.

The answere of the emperour to Panutius. cap. xlii.

What the emperour sayd to the maysters of his sonne and
to the rulers of the empire. cap. xliii.

Howe the emperour at the houre of his death, sente for his
sonne, and declared to hym, who shulde gouerne the em-
pire. cap. xlvi.

What the emperour sayde to his sonne at the houre of his
deathe. cap. xlvi.

Of other moe particular councells gyuen by the emperour
to his sonne. cap. xlvi.

Of dyuers and particuler recommendationes, whiche the
emperour commaunded his sonne. cap. xlvi.

Of the laste wordes that the emperour spake to his sonne,
and of the table that he gaue hym. cap. xlvi.

THE TABLE.

A letter sente by Marcus Iurelius to Pyramon his spes-
all frende. The sytle letter.

A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Cornelius, of the
trauayle of warre, and vanitie of triumphe. the.ii. letter.

To Corcatus beinge at Gayette in consolation of his ba-
nyshement. The.iii. letter.

A letter to Domitius of Capue to comfoxe hym in his ba-
nyshement. The.iii. letter.

A letter sente fro thempetour to Cladius & Claudine his
wyfe, bycause they beinge olde lyued as yonge persones.
The syfthe letter.

A letter sent from Marcus the emperour to Labinta a Ro-
mayne wydowe for to comfoxe her for the deathe of her
housebande. The.vi. letter.

A letter sente by Marke the emperoure to Cincinnatus his
frende, bycause he beyng a gentylman became a mar-
chaunt. the.vii. letter.

A letter sent from Marc the emperour to Catulus Censo-
rius, that was sorowfull for the deathe of his sonne Te-
tius. The.viii. letter.

A letter sent by Marc the Emperour to Marcurino, being
at Hennay nowe called Benauent. The.ix. letter.

A letter sent by Marc thempetour, to Antigonus, comfor-
tynge hym in a sorowfull case. The.x. letter.

An other letter sent by Marke the Emperoure to the same
Antigonus ageynst cruell iudges. The.xi. letter.

A letter sent by Marke to Lambett gouernour of the Isle
of Helespont, whan he dydde banyshethe the vacaboundes
frome Rome. The.xii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Catulus his spes-
all frende of the nouelties of Rome. the.xiii. letter.

A letter sent by Marc thempetour to the amorous ladies of
Rome, bycause they made a play of hym. the.xiv. letter.

A letter

THE TABLE.

A letter sent by Marke the emperoure to Boemia a louer
of his that wolde haue goone with hym to the warrs.
The.xv.letter.

The aunswere to the emperours letter sent by Boemia.
The.xvi.letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Matrine a yonge
marden of Roine, of whome he was enamoured, seynge
her at a wyndowe. The.xvii.letter.

A nother letter sent by Marke the emperoure to the sayde
gentyll woman Matyne. The.xviii.letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Libia a fayre ladie
Romayne. The.xix.letter.

FINIS TABULE.

SECRETARIA

THEATRUM MUNDI
COSMOPOLITANUM
EX CAVIS MUNDI
EX CAVIS MUNDI
EX CAVIS MUNDI



THE PROLOGUE.



So the tyme is an inuenter of nouelties, and a register certayne of thynges aunciente, and at the ende tyme gyueth ende to that suffrethe ende: The truthe all onely amonge all thynges is priuileged, in suche wyse, that whanne the tyme semeth to haue broken her wynges, than as immortall she taketh her force. There is no thyng so entier, but it diminisheth, no; no thyng so hole, but that is wery, no; no thyng so strong, but that it breaketh, no; no thyng so well kept, but that it corrupteth. Soo all these thynges tyme acheneth and burieh, but onely trouthe, the whiche (of the tyme, and of all thynges that is in the tyme) triumpheth. Neþher to be fauoured of the good, no; to be persecuted of the yll, mape be, but that somtyme trouth may be stopped and hydde, but whan it is displeased and wyl displease, than at the laste she commeth to a good poþte, and taketh lande. The frutes in the spþngynge tyme haue not the vertue to gyue sustenaunce no; perþytte swetenesse to satisfie the taste of them that eateth therof: but thanne passeth the season of sommer, and haruest comethe, whiche tyme doþe better type them, and thanne that that we doo eate doþe þrofye vs, the þrofie therof is ryghte saucynesse, and gyueth the moþe force and vertue, and the greater is the taste. I wyl in these spþste wordes saþe, that in the spþste aeges menne were moþe esteemed by theyþ meke customes and delycatenes, than they were after reproued by theyþ grosse and rude vnderstandinges. Certaynely somme of the aunciente philosophers, I speake of the moþte aunciente, as welle Caldees as Greekes, who spþste lyfted theym selues to regarde the sterres of the heuen, and surmounted the highe mounte of Olymþus, there to contemplate and regarde the influences of the

P R O L O G V E.

planettes in the heuen : I dare well saye, that they haue rather merited pardon by they; ignorances, than pray-
synge or grace by they; wylsedom. These were the fyfste
that wolde serch the trouthe of the elementes of the heuen,
and yet they were the fyfste that dyd sowe errours in thynges
naturall of the erthe. Homer in his Iliade sayd these
wordes in speakeynge of philosophers : I prayse nothyng
the knowlge of myne auncestors, but I can them greate
thanke and prayse, in that they despised knowledge. This
was welle sayde of Homer. For if amonge the aunciente
men had not raygned suche ignorance, there had not ben
soo many sectes of partialties in euerye schole. He that
hath redde the aunciente antiquities of the philosophers,
shall not denay me, the presumption of the knowledge and
ignorance of that they desired to knowe, the whiche is
chiefe cause, that science is not all one. There is greate
nombre of partialties. Cynitiens Catoniens, Peripati-
ciens, Academiens, and Epicuriens, who were as contra-
ry in their opinions, as dyuers in they; naturalties. I wil
not that my penne be so dismeasured to reprove soo moche
the aunciente men, that the glory all onely shoulde abyde
with them that be presente. Truely if he merite guardon
and prayse, that sheweth me the way, wherby I thynke to
passe : yet no lesse meritet he that sheweth and aduysethe
me of the waye, wherby I maye fayle. The ignorance of
the aunciente men hath ben but as a guyde to aduyse and
aduertise all other, and bycause they erred, we haue founde
sith the waye, to they; great prayse, and to our gret shame.
I say that if we that be nowe presente had benne than, we
had knownen lesse than they dydde. And if they that were
than were nowe at this houte, they shoulde surmounte vs
in knowlge. And that this is trewe, it appereth well. For
ths auncient sages, with they; diligence to know the trouthe,

by

THE PROLOGUE.

by their close and ferine made the wavyes: But we by oure
 stouthe folowe not the open wavyes. Than to the pourpose
 that I wyl saye, we that be nowe p[re]sent, canne not com-
 playne of theym that haue bene, but that the trouthe (the
 whiche accordançe to Jul. Gen. is doughter of the tyme)
 In this tyme of the w[or]lde declarethe to vs the errours
 that we ought to flee, and the trouthe of the doctrine that
 we oughte to folowe. But as nowe the humayne malycie
 is so experte, and the vnderstandinge of mortall menne is
 so dulle, that in tyme of nede, in goodnesse of wyt we fayle,
 and in all ylle we knowe more than we oughte to knowe.
 In suche wyse, that some with one parte of the moze, and
 some with lesse, all presume to wyn the game. And though
 this be true, yet it is but a smalle thyng to that we abyde
 for: There is soo moche that we oughte to knowe. For
 the moste that we knowe, is the leaste parte of that we be-
 ignorant of, as the thynges naturall, accordançyng to the va-
 rietie of the tyme, lyke maner dothe the operations of the
 clementes. In semblable wise in thynges mortall, as the
 ages hath succeeded, so are discouered the sciences. For cer-
 tayne all the fruities commeth not togyther, whan one fay-
 leth, an other begynneth to enter in reason. I wylle saye,
 that neyther all doctours amonge ch[ri]stien menne, nor all
 the philosophers amonge the gentylles were concurrante
 in oone tyme, but after the deathe of one good, an other
 camme better. The hygh and supreme wysedome, the whi-
 che all meane thynges gouerneth by Justyce, and depar-
 teth it accordançe to his bountie, wylle not that at oone
 tyme the w[or]lde shulde wante or be destitute of sage men,
 nor at an other tyme wante of symple personnes: some de-
 spyng the fruite, and some the leaues. In suche sort that
 they shulde haue enuye of that other were i[nt]apeched. This
 auncient w[or]lde that tanne in Saturnus dayes, the whi-

P R O L O G U E.

che otherwyse was called the Golden woldē, the whiche
 was so esteemed of them that sawe it, and so moche pray-
 sed of them that herde the wrytynge thereof, and so mo-
 che desyred of them that felte no partie therof, was not golde
 by the sages that dyd gylte it, but bcause that there was
 nonis yll that dyd vngylte it. This out age nowe is of yron:
 yet it is not callyd of yron, for faute of sages, but bcause
 the malycious people surmounte. I confesse oone thyng,
 and I thynke I shall haue many wylle sauout me in the
 same, that there was never in the woldē so moche people
 teachynge vertue, and so fewe folowynge the same. Au.
 Gele sayth in his boke, that the auncient sages were holden
 in reputation, bcause there were fewe teachers and many
 lerners: and at this howre it is contrary, there be but fewe
 lerners and many teachers. The smalle esteeme that the sa-
 ges be in at this tyme maye be seene by greette veneration
 that the phylosophers were holden in as than, the whiche
 chyngē was trewe: Homer amonge the Greces, Salomon
 amonge the Hebrewes, Lygurje amonge the Lacedemo-
 niens, Lyuie amonge the Romayns, Ciceto amonge the
 Latines, Apolonins Thianus amonge all the barbare
 nations. I desyre to haue bene in all these ages, whan the
 woldē was so ryche of sage persons, and so poore of sym-
 ple persons, whan they assembled out of ferre countreyes,
 and of dyuers realmes and straunge nations: not all one-
 ly to haue hard their doctrines, but also to haue sene they
 persones. I thynke I am not begyled in the hystories, for
 whan Rome in his mooste prosperitie was hyghest in tri-
 umphe, Titus Luius dothe wryte it in his hystoryes, and
 the gloriouſ sapnre Hierome affirmeth it in the prologue of
 the byble, that mo people came to Rome to ſee the eloquen-
 ces of the bokes, more than to ſee any Romayne triumph.
 when Olympias was deluyered of her chylde the great
 Alexander

P R O L O G U E.

Metander, Phislyp her husbande and father to the yonge
 chylde wrote a letter to Aristotle, wherin he sayde: I gyue
 greate graces to the goddis, not all oonely that they haue
 gyuen vnto me a sonne, but bycause they haue gyuen him
 to me in the tyme that thou mayste be his mayster, and he
 thy disciple. Marc Aurele the emperour, of whom this pre-
 sente boke intreateth, he speakyng of hym selfe wrote to
 Pollio these wordes: Frende I wyl thou knowe, that I
 am not made emperour by reason of the bloud of my pre-
 deceessours, no; yet for the fauour of my lynage nowe pre-
 sent, but it was bycause I haue ben alwayes a frende and
 louer of the sage people, and enemy to them that haue noo
 good knowlege. Ryght happy was Rome to chose so
 valyant an emperour, and ryghte fortunate was that empe-
 rour to come to suche an empire, not by paffionie, but
 by sagenes. And yf that auge was gloriouſ in ioyençe of
 his persone, no leſſe it is to vs to ioye of his docttines. I
 wyl intitle this boke the Golden boke. It maye be called
 golden, bycause in so hygh estimation it holdeth the ver-
 tuous, discouertyng in they; tyme this boke with the sen-
 tences, as these princes holdeth their myndes of golde in
 they; Indes. But I saye that at this houre there be moo
 hartes banyſhed into the Indes of golde, than to employe
 them to rede the warkes of this boke. Salust saythe, that
 there ought great glorie be gyuen to theym that haue done
 there hygh and great actes: And that there oughte no leſſe
 fame and renowme be gyuen to those that in a good style
 haue witten them. In this case I confesse to deserue noo
 merites for my traduction or any fame, but I demaunde
 pardon of all theym that be sage, for the fautes that they
 shall fynde therin. For excepte the diuyne letters, there is
 nothynge so well witten, but that there maye be founde
 necessarie of correction, lyne, and sensure. Seined this to

PROLOGUE.

to be trewe, by that Socrates was reproved of Plato, and Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Zentius, Scilicet of Sulpice, Lelie of Varro, Marinus of Tome, Enio of Horace, Denec of Iule Gele, Estatocles of Hirabo, Tesato of Galene, Hecmagore of Cicero, Oigen of saynt Jerom, saynt Jerome of Ruffyn, and Ruffyn of Donat & Wythe that in them and in theyt warkes there hath bene correction, who were men of hysghe knowlege, it is no reason that I shulde be in their fraternitie, scynge that I knowe so lytell as I do to the examination of wylle and vertuous men. To them I submytte this present wark, and to them that haue ben suche, I them require to be contente to be the reders and not iuges therof. It were no pacience to suffre, no; lawe to peremptie, that a thyng that a sage personne with great maturitie and delyberation hathe written, to be dyspysed by a symple person. For ones readyng, ofteentimes the auctoures and wyrters are dyspysed, not of them that can traduce and compose warkes: but of them that can not understande them, and yet lesse rede theym. I saye further of aduantage, that dyners haue written of the tyme of the sayde Marke Aurelio empereour, as Herodian wroote lytell, Eutropio lesse, Lampadio yet lesse, Julius Capitolin somewhat more. The wrytynges of theym, and of other semeth rather epitomes, than histories. There is difference betwene this wrytyng, and that they wroote by hetynghe saye: but they, by whome I haue composed this present wark, they were wytnesse by syght, and not by hetynghe of oþer, but they wroote what they sawe them selfe: That is to say amonge the maysters, who learned the said empereour their sciences, there were thise, that is to say, Junio Rastico, Cina Catule, and Herto Cheronense, neuerwe to the greattre Plutarke. These bene they that haue written this present hystorie, Herto Cheronense in greke, and

PROLOGUE.

and the other two in latyne, I thinke of this historie is but small notice, bicaus unto this houre it hath not be seene imprinted. When I departed from the college of my stude, and wente to preache in the palays, where I sawe so many newe nouelties in the courtes, I delybered my selfe with greate desyre to knowe thynges, and gaue my selfe to serche and knowe thynges aunciente. And the case fortuned on a day, redyng an historie, I founde therin matter to be noted in a pistell, and it seimed to me so good, that I put all myne humayne forces to serche farther. And after in reuoluyng dypuers bokes, serching in dypuers libra-
ties, and also speakyng with diuers sages of dypuers re-
almes, fynally I founde this tretise in Florence, amonge
the bokes left there by Cosme de Medicis, a man of good
memor. I haue vsed in this wrytinge, the whiche is hu-
mayne, that that dypuers tymes hath ben vsed in dyuinitie,
that is to reduce, not word for word, but sentence for sen-
tence. The other interpretours are not bounde to gyue for
the meane the wordes, it suffiseth to gyue for the weyghte
the sentence: As the historiographes, of whom there were
dypuers, and the historie that they made was all but one
thyng. I wyl not deny, but I haue lefte out some wordes,
whiche were not mete, nor well sittynge, rude, and leaste of
valure, and I haue medled it with other moxswete and
profitable. I thynke that euery wyse man, after he hathe
redde this boke, wyl not saye that I am the principall au-
ctour of this warke, nor yet to iuge me so ignorant to ex-
clude me cleare from it, for so highe sentences are not found
at this present tyme, nor to so highe a stile they of tyme
past never attempned.

¶ Here endeth the
prologue. . .

Here

Here begynneth the boke of the lyfe of the noble
and eloquent Marke Autely empctour.

COf the byþthe and lygnage of Marke Autelie
Anthony empctour. cap. pþmo.

MAt the yere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C.
lxxxv. in the Olimpiade a. C. lxxii. Anthony
the meke, beinge deed, than consules fulvius
Caton, and Gnee Patrocle in the hysghe capp-
tol, the. iiiii. daye of Octobre, at the demaunde
of all the people Romayne, and consent of the sacred Se-
nate, was declared for empctour vniuersall of all the mo-
narche of Rome, Marke Autely Anthony. This excellente
baron was naturally of Rome borne in the mounte Celye.
And accoþdyng as Julius Capitolyne sayth, he was borne
the. vi. kalendes of Maye, the whiche accoþdyng to the
accont of the latyns, was the xxiij. daye of the monethe
of Appyll passed. His fater was named Anio Vero. For
the occasion wherof the histories dyuers tymes calle hym
Marke Anthony Vero. True it is, that Adriane the empe-
tourt called hym Verissimus, bycause in hym was never
founde no lies, noþ never fayled the trouthe. These Anius
Veres was a lignage, that auaunced them to be descended
of Numa Pompilio, and of Quirinus Cettius the famous
Romayn: whiche for to deliuer the towne of Rome from
verylle, and to gyue his persone perpetuall memoþre, of
his owne good feee wylle he yeldeþ hym selfe to the same
vorage, that as than was scene in Rome. The moþer of
this empctour was called Domiciade, as Cyne historien
recounteth in the bokes of the lygnages of Rome. The
Camilles were persones in that tyme greatly esteemed, by
cause they were accompted to be descended of Camille the
famous

camous and aunciente capitayne Romayne, whiche dely-
uered Rome stome the Gaulles, that hadde wonne it. The
men that descended of that lygnage were called Camyl-
li, for the remembraunce of Camile, and the women were
like ipse called camilles, in the remembraunce of a dough-
ter of the sayde Camille, that was called Camilla.

There was an auncient lawe, that al Romaynes shuld
haue a particuler priuylege in the same place, where they
predecessours had done to the Romayne people any greate
seruice. for this auncient custome they had priuylege, so
that all they of the lygnage of Camille were kepte and
maynteyned in the hygh capytol. And though the varietie
of the tyme, the multitude of tyranteres, the ebullition and
mouyng of cyuill warres were cause of the dimynshinge
of the aunciente polycie of Rome, and introduced in man-
ner a lyke not very good: yet for all that we reede not, that
the preemynences of the Romaynes were broken, but if
it were in the tyme of Sylla, whanne he made the vnpuer-
sall prescription agaynst the Marianes. After the deathe
of this cruell Sylla, in exalteynge of hym selfe, Julius
Cesar the pitifull, made dictatour of Rome, and chiese of
the Marianes, adnulled and vndydde all that Sylla hadde
made, and brougthe ageyne into the aunciente estate the
common welthe.

What hath benne the condicions, the estate, pouertye,
rychesse, fauour, or disfauour of the auncestours of this
marke Autelye Emperour, we fynde not in the aunciente
histories, and yet it hath bene diligently serched for. The
ancient Romayn histories were not accustomed to write
the lyues of the emperours fathers, namely whanne they
be made monarcches, but the merites and graces that
they chyldren had, as for the autoritie that they hadde in-
heritinge they fathers. Trouthe it is, as saythe Julius

Capitolyne the father of Marke Aurelce thempetour, had ben pretour in exercises, and capitayn in the frontiers, in the tyme of Traian the good, and Adriane the wylle, and Anthony the meke, emperours. This is confirmed by that the same Marke Aurelce wrot (being at Rodes) to a frende of his callyd Polyon, that was at Rome, sayinge thus: Many thynges haue I felte and knowen frende Polyon, by the absence of Rome, namely of that I se my selfe here alone in this ple: but as vertue makethe a straunger naturall, and vycie tourmeth naturalle to a straunger: And as I haue ben. x. yeres here at Rodes to rede philosophy, I therby repute my selfe as naturall of this lande, and that hathe caused me to forgette the pleasures of Rome, and it hath lerned me the maners of the ple. And here I haue founde many of my fathers frendes. Here was capitayne agaynste the Barbariens, to my lord Adrian, Anthony my father in lawe, the space of. xv. yeres. I lete the to wytte, that the Rodian people are cutteis, and full of good graces. I wolde haue redde phylosophye as longe as my father hadde ben at Rodes in warre, but I may not: for Adrian my lord commaundeth me to go and kepe residence at Rome, howe be it euery man reiopseth to see his naturall countrey.

¶ So by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleuued, that Anio Vero father to this emperour Marke, hadde applyed the mooste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the custome lightly to truste a persone, to haue the office of a gouernour on the frontiers, without he had bene well excelled in the feates of warre. And as all the glorie of the Romanes was to leauue after them good renowme, the said Marke certaynely was taken for the mooste vertuous, and hadde greates frendes in the Senate, whereby he trusted on the conquest of the mooste cruell enemys: accordeynge as

as the sayde Herito Chermonense historien saythe. The Romanis all though they had in they handes mooste perillous warres, yet they hadde in fourte partes of the empire stronge and entier garnisons. That is to saye, in Byzance, the whiche is nowe Constantinople, by reason of theym of the oppente: And Engades, the whiche nowe is called Caliet a citie of Spayne, for loue of them of the weste: In the ryuet of Rhodano, which is now the ryuet of Ryne, for the Germanes: And in Collosse, whiche nowe is calledde the Rhodes, bcause of the Barbariens. In the kalendes of Januarie, whanne the senate deuyded the offyces, beinge pourueyed of a dictatour, and of two consulles yetely. Incontynente in the thyde place they prouyded for fourte mooste excellente barons to defende the sayde fourte frontiers: The whiche semeth to be true, for the moste famous and renowmed barons of they yonge dayes were capitaines in the sayde frontiers. The great Pompeius was sent to the Byzances Constantinople: The worthye Scipio was sente to the Colossences and Eodyans: And the couragious Julius Cesat was sente with the Gadytaynes of Calyt of Spayne: and the stronge esteemed Marcus was sente to theym of the ryuet of Ryne. This we saye bycause that Anio Vero father to Marc Aurele emperour, had ben prouoste and pretour in the offices, and one of the capitaines of the frontiers, whiche oughte to be in Rome one of the persons moste esteemed.

Cwhat maysters Matke Aurely hadde
in his yowthe. cap. ii.

Vve haue not by any autentike histories, from whens, whan, or howe, in what maner, or in what exercyses, or with what persons, or in what londe was spent and con-

M A R C V S

sumed the mooste parte of the lyfe of this good empetour.
 But to be shorte, Julius Capitolyne saith, that he had ben
 xxxiiii.yere vnder the commaundement of Adrian the empe-
 tourt. Howe be it contrarie wylle is founde by other hysto-
 riens , accordyng as saythe Herio Cheronense in his
 hystorie. It was not the custome of the Romaynes cron-
 clers, to wyte the thynges doone by these princis, before
 they were princis, but onely of younge people, beinge in
 their yonge age , hauyng greate and hys magnifcence,
 and doinge great entepyses. This semeth to be of trouth,
 for Sueton Tranquylle recounteth largely the fearefull
 dedes and entepyses doone by Caius Jul. Cesat in his
 yonge age, to shewe to princis to come , howe it was a
 great ambition, that they had to attayne to the monarchy,
 and but of smalle wytte and maturite to kepe theym selfe
 therin. It is no newe thyng that menne gape for hys
 and stayle thynges. And the more higher the magnifcence
 is, the more lower they sele fortune . And whan they were
 diligenter to accomlysshe their desyre , as moche thought
 had they to conserue their quietnes and teste. In case than
 that Anio Vero, father to Marke the Empetour, folowed
 the exercise of warres: yet he put his sonne in the waye to
 lerne science. For there was a lawe soore vsed and accusto-
 med, and well kepte in the Romayne polycye , that euery
 citessens sonnes, that entroped the lybertye of Rome , and
 had accomlyshed x.yeres, shoulde not be suffred to goo
 by the stretes as vacabundes. For it shulde not be suffred
 by the Censure, who gouerned Rome, and dayly toke heede
 to the forfaytes done therin, to suffre a chylde noo lengar
 than x.yeres of his age to play the chylde . But fro thense
 forthe the father of the chylde shulde be bounde to houyshe
 hym out of the circuite of Rome, or to lare a pledge, that
 his sonne shulde do no folyes . Sothan Rome triumphed,
 and

and by their polycie gouerned all the woldē, it was certaynly a meruaylous and monstrosous thing to see it than, and no leſſe fearefulle vnto vs nowe to here therof. There was at that tyme in Rome. iiiii. hundred thousande inhabitanſes, among whom there was. ii. hundred. M. yong peopple, that were tyſtayned and hydded from their yong pleſures. The ſonne of Cato was chayſed, becauſe he was wylfull and p̄ſumptuous. And alſo the brother of good Cyna was banayſhed, becauſe he wente ydell as a vacabunde. Without that Cicero begylleth vs in his booke of the Romayne lawes, no Romayne ought to ſtraye abrode in the ſteetes of Rome, but if he bare in his hand the ſigne or token of the offyce, wherby he lyued. To thentent that euery man ſhuld knowe, that he lyued by his trauayle, and not by the ſweate of oþer men. This lawe was kepte of euery person. The emperoure hadde borne before hym a þrennyng brande: The Consulle an axe of armes, the priuies a hat in maner of a coþe: the Senatours a tonge in maner of a crucible on their armes, the Cenſure a lytell table, the tribunes a mace, the centurions a ſygne or baner, the oþatours a boke, the gladiatours a ſwerde, the tayllours ſhetes, the ſmythes a hammer, and in lyke wiſe of all the other offiſes and craftes. We maye knowe than by this that is ſadde, that after that Marke Aurelye was borne at Rome, his father in his pouthe had taughte hym good nutture. And though he ſoo were, that the begynnyng of his yong age ſhulde be hydded from vs: at the leaſte way we are certayne, that the myddell age and ende of hym was ryght gloriouſ. His father Antoñeto wolde that his ſonne Marcus Aurelius ſhulde leauue ſcates of armes, and folowe ſtudye. And ſurelye it is to be thoughte, that it was doone more by the valyantnesſe of the father, than the cowardenesſe of the ſonne, excepte the dedes of

them that be deed begylle vs that ben alryue, and the cause
 iudged by clere understandyng, and that we fynde moo
 sentences of dyuers labde personnes, that therethath benne
 but fewe that ben loste by wyttinges and letnyng, ye and
 a great mynpe fewer that haue had auantage by armes.
 Reuolue all bokes, and setche throughe all realmes, and
 finally they shewe vs, that very fewe in theyz realmes haue
 ben happy in armes, but therethaue ben many famous and
 enowmed by scripture and letnyng. Take here example,
 and se if it be true or not that I saye. Had the Assitians mo
 than one kynge, that was Minus, one Lygurie amoung
 the Lacedemonians, the Egyptiens one Ptholome, the
 Hebrewes one Machabee, the Grekes one Hercules, the
 Macedoniens one Alexander, the Epitotiens one Pittie,
 one Hannibal the Cathageniens, and one Julius Cesat
 amoung the Romaynes? It is not thus of lerned men: for
 if the Grekes had one Homer, noo lesse the Grekes baun
 teth theym of the. vii. sages, whome we beleue moore in
 theyz philosophy, than Homer in the warres of Troy. for
 as difficile it is to fynde a trouthe in Homer, as a lye in
 these sages. Semblably the Romaynes hadde not onely
 Cycero as ryght eloquent, but also they had Saluste, Lu
 can, Titus Liuius, with a great compayne of noble men,
 and well approued, who haue left ryght greate credence in
 theyz scriptures in the sayinge of trouthe. What loste Cice
 ro in the senate for bsyng of inuectiues? And as we say of
 so small a nombre of Grekes and latynes, we maye saye of
 the Assitians, Persians, Medes, Argiues, Scayens, Pe
 niens, Frenchemen, Britons, Englysshemen, and Sp
 anyardes. All the whiche nations withoute comparyson
 haue of them selfe lefte moore memorie, and haue honou
 red theyz landes and countreyes moore by wyttinge, thanne
 they that haue lefte sygnes by armes. Then lette vs leaue
 these

these straunge hystories, and retourne to the pythe of oure
emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Eutrope recomente he.
Accordynge as this excellent baron lerned dyuers sciences,
so he had dyuers maysters to teache him. He studid gram-
matice with a mayster named Euphorion, musyke with an
other named Gemino Comode, eloquence with Alexander
a greke, In naturall phylosophy he hadde to his maysters
Comode Calcedonien an auncient baron, whiche expoun-
ded to hym Homer: and Sexto Cheronense neuewe to the
great Plutarche. Also he studid in the lawes, and Volu-
sio Mecciano was his mayster. This Emperoure esteemed
to haue the knowledge of payntynge, and to graue in wood
and mettall, in ethre, and other sculptures, in whiche arte
his mayster was Diogenito, in his tyme a famous and re-
nowned paynter. He trauayled also to knowe and serche
what extended to the arte of Augromancye. By occasion
wherof he went openly to here Apolonio. And to thentent
that there shuldr be nothynge unlerned of hym, he aboue
all sciences sette his mynde to Cosmographye, in the whi-
che for his maysters, he tooke Junio Rosyco, that sythe
wrote his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the whiche wrote of his
deathe, and the lyfe of Comode his sonne. Of these noble
and excellente barons, that flouryshed in those dapes, he
was taughte in vertues and sciences. Cicero lamentethe
the auncient polycie of Rome, bycause that he sawe greate
losse in the common welthe than presente, sayenge in his
rhetorike, that the auncient Romaynes had alway regarde
to that partie, whereto they thoughte mooste damage and pe-
nally shoulde grove. There were. v. thynges amonge all
other in Rome, wherto they hadde euer a bygilante re-
specte, the whiche the senate needed not to care for, nor noo
latme dispensed for them: and these bene they, the priestis
were honest, and the byrgins Westales ryghte chasse: the
penal-

penalties right iuste, the capitaynes full baltante: They
that taughthe yonge chyldren were vertuous. It was not
permytted in Rome, that he that was a mayster in scopen-
ces, shulde be disciple of vices.

Cwhat sciences Marcus the emperour lerned.
And of a metuapious letter that he
sent to Polyon. cap. iii.

Pilostate saythe, that it was demaunded
of Polton, who was the rycheste manne of
the wold: He aunswered, It was he that
had moste wisedome. He was demaunded
agayne, who was mooste poore: He aun-
swered, he that had leaste wytte. Of trouthe
it was a worthy sentence of suche a person. The effect ther-
of we see dayely by experiance, the wylde sydynge in dy-
uers chaunces of fortune, teleueth hym selfe. The unwit-
ty persone in very smalle thynges touchynge his luynghe,
not greatly decayed, falleth downe. There is no thynghe
that is so loste, but that there is hope of recoueryng, if it be
in the handes of a wise man. And contrary wise, there is no
thynghe so assured, but the recoueraunce therof oughte to be
feared, if a sole haue the guidinge therof. It was ared of
Xenophon the philosopher, whether he hadde rather to be
foolyshe and a greate lorde, or to be wylde and poore. He
aunswered and sayde, I haue pytie of a ryche foole, and
I haue enuye of a wylde manne wanen poore. For if a wylde
man haue but one fote, yet wyl he ryse and kepe hym selfe
frome fallynge: And if he gyue an abbaye to a foole, ys by
fortune he fall, he wyl nevere teleueth agayne. ye mayethynke
that the fater that dieth and leaueth his sonne poore and
wylde, that he leaueth to hym moche: And he that leaueth
his

his sonne tyche and folyshe, I thynke he hath lefte him no-
thyng. These thinges considered, Anio Vero, father of
the emperour, as a fater that loued his sonne hartely, was
not content, to deliuer one mayster to his sonne, to make
hym vertuous, and to lerne one sciēce, wherwith he myght
occupie his vnderstandinge, but he gaue hym many may-
sters, that refreyned hym frome vyses, and commaunded,
that he shuld lerne many sciēces, to thentēt that he shulde
be the more belye exercised. Whan and howe moche he tra-
uayled to lerne, and what sciēces, and with whom, and
with what wyll he lerned, and what he knewe, he wrote
hym selfe, beinge at Agrippine, nowe called Cœlēn, to a
frende of his named Polion, as it foloweth.

Cfrende Polion, thou meruaylest, why that I leaue not
to lerne newe thynges at the ende of my dayes. He that
hath but one meate to eate, and can not eate therof, he le-
ueth it, and peraduenture it was holsom for hym, and ea-
teth other thynges, that he seeth, whiche maye be hurtefull
to hym. It is a greate magnificence to a man, to haue dy-
uers sortes of meates: for if he haue noo luste to one, that
is good for hym, he maye take of an other, that is better.
He that is wyse, maye vnderstande me, without any more
declatynge. As in all artes, a man is contente at the laste:
so at the last, be they never so swete, they tourne to a wety-
nesse. He that knoweth but one science, though he be wyse,
yet he venneth in great daungier. For beinge annoied ther-
with, he wyll occupie his lyfe in other hurtefull thynges.
The noble and worthy personnes, that dyd caste flouthe a-
waye fro them, haue lefte of them eternall memorie, not
wyllynge to lerne alonly one science, to attempze thei^r vnu-
derstanding with, but also trauayled, to lerne dyuers other,
wherwith they sharped thei^r wyttes, to thentente that they
shuld not be dulled and made blonte. In all naturall thy-
nges

ges, nature is with ryght lytel content, but the spirite and understandynge, is not satisfied with many thynges. And sythe the vnderstandynge is of suche condition, that it is loste by lybertie, and is lyghtely encombred, with subtiltie it perceþ, with quyckenes it knoweth, and with ignorance it wasterþ: it is necessarie, by tyme to remount to very high thynges, lest it boþe vnto lowe and yll thynges. All corporall damages, that chaunce to mortall men, are by medycines healed, or by reason remedied, or by length of tyme cured, or els by deth ended: The onely vnderstanding, which is dusked in errours, and depraued in malycies, canne nat be healed by medicynes, nor redressed by reasone, nor holpe by counsell. The aunciente philosophers, in the sayd happy golden wþlde, and golden age, dyd not all onely lerne one thyng, wherþy they myghte sustaine their lyfe, and encrease good fame: But they traauayled, to knowe all that was to be knowen, and yet euer sought to knowe more.

CIn the lxxv. of the Olympiade, as dyuers persons were assembled in the hygh mountayne Olympius, to celebrate the playes, by fortune ther came a philosopher of Thebes, whiche had made all that euer he brougþte with hym. He made his shewes, his cote, and sewed his sherte, and had written his bokes, and so of all other thynges. They that were there assembled, were abashed, and meruayled greatly, that one man coude do it. He was dyuers tymes asked, where he lerned so many thynges. And he aunswereþ and sayde, The slouche of man is the cause, that oone arte is dyuided into dyuers artes. For he that knoweth all artes togyþter, muste nedes knowe one alone. This philosopher answered highly. And surely, they that hard hym, ought to haue ben as greatly ashamed of his wordes, as the philosopher was of the vaynglorie of his apparel. Let every man remembþre hym selfe, and let no man blame the

Mort-

Shortnes of the tyme, nor wekenes of our nature. For there is no thyng so hard, but it is made softe: nor so hygh, but it maye be caught: nor kept so close, but it may be sene: nor so subtile, but it may be felt: nor so darke, but it maye be ligh-
ted: nor so profounde, but it may be discouered: nor so dys-
seuered, but it may be gathered to gether: nor so loste, but it
may be founde: nor so impossible, but it may be conserued,
if with all our hattes, we occupie our powers in good exer-
cises, and applye our vnderstandinge in hyghe thynges.
I deny not, but our nature is lyttel worth: But I knowe
well, that lesse worth is our slouthfulnes. I wold demande
of euyll men, the whiche praye vs to be good, and areth
counsell of vs, for theyr sensualitie, sayenge, that they be
wepke and fraile, although they haue vnderstandinge, to
inuent euyls, and haue strength inough, to put them in ef-
fecte, and to persecuet therin, they neuert lacke constaunce.
The cause is, we call it naturall, for to do and commyt vyp-
ces and miscties. And slouthe in vertue, we calle straunge
and weake, bycause of the werkes.

Lette no man blame our nature, for beyng weake and
fainte: nor lay agaynst the goddes, that they be cruell: for
we haue no lesse ablenes to do well, than redynesse to doo
yll. Lette none say, I wold, and I can not withdrawe me
from vice. It is better sayde, I maye, but I wyll not fo-
lowe vertue. I wyll not defame straunge realmes, but I
wyll speake of vs, that be latynes, and by theym shall be
sene, howe they haue benne full of malyce, and that they
myghte haue done well. I wolde wytte of the dedes, that
Marcus Anthonus dyd wyth Cleopatra: The prescrip-
tion, that Scilla made of the nobles of Rome: The con-
iuration, that Catilina inuented agaynst his countreye:
The bloudde, that was shedde for the cause of Pompeye,
in the campe of Pharsale: And the greattest theste, that Ju-

Iulius Cesar made of the treason, the cruelties, that Nero dyd to his mother: the shames, that Caligula committed with his systers, the treason that Brutus dyd to his fathet Gaius: the shewdenes and cruelties, that Domitian dyd to the virgyns Vestales: the treasons that Julius Pattroclus vsed with the Syliens and Sicilians, the frapes and murders that Ulpio the matynet made in the temples and churches of Campayne. I wolde knowe of suche, as I haue rehersed, and dyuers other, that I speke nat of, that applied them to so many shewde turnes, who letted them, (if they had wolde) to haue applyed them selfe to do other good dedes? All this I haue sayde my frende Polyon, to aunsweare, to that ye haue demaunded of me. That is, in what sciences I haue wasted and consumed my tyme.

Wherfore it pleaseth me, to telle it to the . Anno Uero my fathet, suffred me but. viii. yere in my chyldhode: and than, tyll I was. x. yere of age, I went to schole fro; to write and rede: and fro. x. yere to. xii. I wente to studye with Euforion, and lerned grammer: fro. xii. yere. to. xvii. I lerned eloquence, with Alexander the greke, a famous oratoriour: fro that tyme to. xxii. yere, I was with Herto Calcedon, lernynge naturall philosophy. Those yeres passed, I was at Rhodes, and studied humanitic, tyll I was. xxxii. yere of age. And than I wete to Naples, where as I was thre yere with Fonton a greke, lernynge greke letters. And I put my good wylle so moche thereto, that I spake, and wrote greke moze easily than latyn. Than I retourned to Rome, where the warte of Dace arose, to the whiche Adrian my lord sent me: And bycause that in armes, and in tyme of warre, I coude carie noo bokes of science, I determinyd me, to lerne the science of musyke with Hieronymus Comode, to thentent that I myght with swetenes of instrumentes, restrayne my body fro certayn vices, whiche as than in my

my house began to take forme. All the rest of my lyfe, thou knowest, it hath ben in beartyng of offyces in Rome, vnto the tyme that the weyghte of the monarchye was layde on my shulders. Bytherto the emperour spake.

¶ Than by this letter written to his frende, it semeth well, that without sleuth he passed his tyme. It is reason to beleue it holly, in that he hath sayd. For so excellent woxes, that he made, and so hygh sentences, as he wrote, myghte not procede, but of a prudenter man, and a very wyse spirite.

¶ Howe for the wisedome of Marcus, many wyse men flourished in his tyme. Cap. iii.



A the lyfe of the prince is but as a whyte, for all other to shote at, and as a glasse, wherin all the wold doth beholde: so we se by experiance, that wher unto a prince is inclyned, the people trauaplynge to folowe the same, haue not the dyscretion, to eschewe the euylle, and folowe the good. Certaynly they muse no lesse vpon a counterfayte fowle, made of fethers, than though he were of fleshe, and yet at the fyfste flyght, it leseth the lybertye, and yet his hunger is not therby quenched. wherby all the wynges of lybertye are tourned to peyne of scrusage. It is a greate offence, and an immortalle infamye to a prynce, that in the stede of gyuringe his hande of good lyuringe, to releue other, casteth backewarde his fote of euyll exaumple, wherby all other ouerthow. Than without comparison, greatester is the wyckednesse of the people, than the negligence of the prince. For yf one lyueth yll, and an other foloweth hym, it is noo metuayle: and though there be but fewe, that folowe hym, it is noo newe thyng. For in case, that manye folowe hym is noo fearefull thyng: but all

C iii the

the hole to folowe hym, is a great sclauder. If the people
 were such, as they ought to be, one shuld rather come from
 yll to good for many, than that many for one shulde tourne
 fro good to yl. Certaynly every man knoweth, that though
 we be bounde to folowe the honest commaundmentes of our
 princes, yet we be not bounde to folowe they; yll spuyng.
 What shall we say thanne, seinge that nowe adayes, the
 delytes of menne are of so greate pycce, and the rygout of
 they; empire, in so poore estimation, that withoute shame,
 some dispayre they; iuste commaundmentes, and folowe
 their cyll werkes. O, if the princes had suche nombre of
 good folke, that wolde fulfyll they; commaundmente, as
 they haue greate nombre of wretches, that folowe they;
 doinges, I swere, that there shulde be no nede of any pson
 for the myndoers, or carcans for blasphemers, chaynes
 for sclaues, nor heddyng blockes for traytors, nor kny-
 ues for aduouters, nor galowes for theues. I wyll gyue
 you example of all this, wherby ye shall see, that it is true,
 that I saye. If the kynge be inclyned to hunte, all wyll be
 hunters: if he be a player, all wyll playe: yf he vse armes,
 all wyll tourney: if he be an aduouter, other wyll vse the
 same: if he be fyerse, other wyll be fierse: yf he be vertuous,
 all wyll be vertuous and valyaunte: if he be tempe-
 tate and moderate, all wyll absteyne: if he be hardye, all
 wyll be bolde: yf he be pitiefull, all wyll haue pitie: if he be
 wylle, all wyll lerne. And to the entente, that we blame not
 all onely the princes of our dayes, lette vs call to memo;ye,
 the pryncis of tymes past. Who that hath redde *Sextus*
cheronense, in his boke called the *dyuers inclynacions*,
 that pryncis haue had, shall fynde, that *Romulus*, foun-
 tour of *Rome*, honoured greatly grauets in stone: *Numa*
Pompilius, his successour, honoured priestes: *Paulus*
Emilius, mariners: *Caius Cesat*, goldsmythes: *Scipio*,
 the

the capitaynes: Augustus Octavius tennys players: Caligula, ruffians, Tyberius, baudes: cruelle Nero, sworde players: Claudius, writers: Scilla, armours, Marius, his compagynon, grauets of ymages: Vespasian, good paynters: Titus his eldest sonne, mynistrilles, Domitian, his myghtye brother, crossebowe makers: And aboue all other, our Marcus Aurelius emperour, wyse menne. The dyuers inclinations, that pryncis had in dyuers thynges, hath made to vary the fauour and disfauour of many pryncis, with their people. And as the common people regardeþ more fauour, than Justice, suchē officers are mooste fauoured, to whom pryncis dothe mooste inclyne. All this we say, to shewe, howe that in the tyme of this good emperour, wyse men were fauoured. If the hystorians doo not lye, sythe the tyme of Mecena the Romayne (whiche was moche more happye, to haue wyse menne to his stendes, than to inuent newe maner of meates and bankettes (unto this Marcus Autelius, haue passed. xvii. emperours, whiche were Julius, Octavius, Tyberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Vitellus, Vespasianus, Titus, Domitianus, Nerua, Traianus, Idrianus, Anthonius, and Aurelius. And of all these, we can fynde all onely but two, that fauoured wyse men, that is to saye, Nerua and Traian. All the other emperours were nat onely discipiles of lyers, but also were persecutors of the trouthe. This seemeth to be trewe: for Julius persecuted Cicero: Octavius banished Ovide: Tyberius empoysoned Caligula: Caligula caused to cutte the throtes of. iii. oratours togþther: Nero slewe his mayster Senec: Claudius sette his uncle Lucan in prison: Othus hanged vp Patroclus: Domitian banished all the oratours of Rome: And the moe to shewe his cursednes, whā the wise men, þ were banished, wen out at one gate, therre entred in at an other gate all

all vngiftes, the whiche by Tertius his brother, had bene banysshed and exiled. And as I saye of these fewe in nombre, I myghte saye of many other. For certaynely the wylle men were nat thus intreated in the tyme of this good emperour Marcus: and that this is true, it semeth by dyuers excellent batons, well lerned in diuers sciences, that flourished in his tyme: Julius Capitolin recounteth of theym as foloweth. Alexander, a greke, Trasion, Polyon, Cutius, Anius Mactian, Caninius, Crodiaticus, Fornius, Cornelius, Apolonius, Anius, Sertus Cheronense, Junius Rasticus, Claudius Marinus, Cina Catulus, Claudius Seuerus, and the renowned Diogenitus paynter, and the well lerted lawyer Volusius Mecianus. All these were in this emperours palaces, and residente in his presence: And yet for all that, he had dyuers other wylle persons in Rome, and abrode in Italy. It was no metuail, to se in those dayes, the multitude of men, that flourished in wylledome. There was no fader, but if he had two sonnes, he wolde set one of them to study, and the other, accordyng to the Romayne lawe, shulde be sette to the wattes. And if this emperour wylst of any wylle yonge man aboue al other he wolde fauour hym.

COf the emperour Marcus sonne named
Verissimus. cap. v.

 His emperour Marcus Aurelius, hadde onely two sonnes, as Herodian saythe. The greattest and eldest, was called Comode, and the yongest was named Verissimus. He was a faire childe of person, and right vertuous of living. With his beautie he drew to hym the eyes of many, and with his good inclinations, he robbed the hartes of all men.

men. He was the hope of the people, and the glorie of his fathers age. And though the eldest was pypnace, yet themperour determined, that the laste borne, for his vertues, shulde inherite as the eldest: And he that was fyfste borne, for his demerites, shulde be disherited. And as good desyses in the best tyme fayle often by vnhappy chaunce, this emperour beinge of lit. yeres of age, and the sonne of xvi. the glorie of Rome, and hope of the fathet, the lyfe of the sonne toke an ende. And as moche was the deathe bewayled, as the lyfe despised. It was great ptye, for the senate by reason therof sawe not the emperour, nor the olde emperour for sozowe sawe not the senate of a longe space.

Rome was ryght heuy, and the senate withdrew them to the heyghe of the capitoll dyuers dayes. And as the mystes and wyndes cause the leaues to falle, that were grene in sommer, and the dedes of honour constraine vs to forget the myshappes of fortune, & as a man of hygh lynage, and of stonge courage, though he that sozowe remayne in his hatte, and abydethe locked therin, determineth to clese the banches of sozowes that is ourwarde, fayning ioye and myrthe ourwardely, kepyng the sozowe within: so this Marcus the emperour, as a man whose byne free-seth and dyeth, wherin he had all his hope, contented him with that was leste behynde. Whan his dere sonne Cetysimus was dead, he sente for the prince Comode his onely inheritour, whiche sythe the chylde his brother was dead, entred not in to the palays. And the emperour seynge the poude and outtagious pote of his sonne Comode, bedewed his eien with salte teates, remembryng the shame of the one, and the deathe of the other. The whiche perceyued by faulynge his mother, whiche loued hym moste entierly, commaunded to haue her sonne awaie fro the p;resence of his fathet.

D

what

Cwhat wyse and auncient men Marcus chose to
instructe his sonne. Cap. vi.



Hough that the harte of this emperour was occupied with the deathe of his chylde, yet for all that he reysed his vnderstandyng, to haue the p;ince his heire ryght well broughte vppe. For certaynely princis bene suche, whan they come to mans estate, as they be broughte vp in they; tender yOUTH. The fater than knowynge the staple inclinations of his chylde, not correspondene to the good gouernaunce of the empire, as a good emperour sent ouer all Italye for the moste wyllest persones in letynge, the mooste famous of renowme, and the mooste vertuous in dedes. And as in dyuers thynges the infamye is greater in the yll doinge by malice, than the faute of the trespassour by weakenes: so in dyuers other thynges, the common bryce is more than the secrete vertue. For the whiche occasyon after the assemblyng of these wyse menne, the emperour commaunded to examynne them, and to be informed of the bloude of they; predecessours, of the appoyntemente in all their thynges, and of the treatie of they; busynesse, and of the credence amonge they; neyghbours, and of the purenes of their lyues, and gravitie of they; personnes and fynally of they; sciences, what they coulde do, and this to be done in an order. The astrologiens in astronomye, the musiciens in musyke, the oratours in they; arte of Rhetoryke: and some in other sciences. And this not in one daye, but in many: and not onely by information of other, but he wolde knowe hit by his owne propre experiance. Thus they were all examyned, so that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfecte knowlge of thynges, wherin we haue great affection, it behoueth to haue straunge ad- upse

upse, cleare understandyng, and propre experyence: so the emperour commaunded to chose out of btyers a fewe, and out of fewe the wyllest, and of the wyllest the moste experte, moste worthy, and moste auncient. And acco;dynge to the vnt. attes lyberall there was assigned to euerye science two maysters: soo that the prynce was one, and the maysters twi. This renowme that the Emperour sente ouer all, to haue maysters so; his sonne the prynce, caused to come to hym moo wylse men from straunge countreys, than of the marches and neyghbours of Roome. The godd emperour consideryng that it was no reason, that suche as came to his serupse, shulde returme myscontented, some with ioyefull wordes, some upon certayne hope, and some with gyftes and presentes were dispached, soo that they were all pleased. And if this doinge was renowmed by the repose of the wylse men, it was no lesse vertuous by the wylsedome and wothynges of the emperour, to sende them home so well contente. So; he sent them away as well satisfied that were overcome, as they were contented that ouercam them. And certaynly they had all reason, so; some bare the swete wordes and satisfyenge of the fader: and somme aboode there charged with the enteynyng of the sonne. Yet the good emperour, not beinge contented with this coman-
ded that these maysters shoulde be lodged in his palayes, and eate in his presence, and accompany his personne, to se if they; lyfe were conformable to they; science, and whe-
ther they; plesant and wel couched wordes, agreed in effect with they; warkes. It was a metuaylous thinge to see the study and thought that the emperour had to regarde them, as well in gynge as sedynge.

Howe it chaunced to fyue wylle men, wher-
soe they were put out of the empe-
rours house. Cap. vii.



At the month of Septembre, the xi. day therof, in halowyng the feaste of the Emperours nativite, in the same house where as he was borne, in the place of mont Celio: As a trewande and foole dothe lyke hym selfe, and semblablye as he is accustomed to doo. And lyke as doone dothe the semblable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to doo: so the emperour set more his intention on wylle men, than hi sies on fooles. He saue. v. of them satte beatyng the paument with they; feete, and arose frome they; places, clappinge they; handes, speakyng lounde, and laughyng excedyngely, the whiche was noo lesse marked of the emperour than beholden. Whan the feaste was doone, he called theym asyde, and sayde: Frendes lette abyde with me the pitiefull goddes, and lette the good dedes go with you. I haue chosen you to thentent that foles shulde be conuerted to wylle men, but I see wylle men become foles. Do ye not knowe, that with the fyre of myrture golde is drauen, and by the lyghtnes of fooles wylle menne are proued? Certaynly the fyne gold defendeth his qualites in the quycke founayes: and lykewise the wylle manne sheweth his vertues amonge fooles. Wote ye not, that a foole can not be knownen amonge fooles, nor a wylle manne amonge sage folke? Amonge wylle men, the sole is made byghe, and amonge fooles wylle men do shyne. Do you not knowe, what shame it is to make the disciples of foles, maisters of prin- cys? Knowe ye not, that of the couragious vnderstandingyng procedethe the composytion of the bodye, the teste of the person to be the temptaunce of the tonge? What profyteith it you

it you to haue an experte tounge, a quicke memorie, a clere vnderstandinge, great science, profounde eloquence, or a swete style, if wyth all these graces ye haue a wycked wyll: Wherfore wyl wylle men haue their wordes so distinct and moderate, if their wordes be lyght: And to thentent that it shulde not seme to you that I speake of pleasure, I wyll bryng to you an antyke lawe of Rome. In the seuenthe table of the lawes of our fathers was written these wordes: We commaunde, that a moxe greuous chastyemente be gauen to the wylle manne for a lyghte dede done openly, than to a secrete murderer. O iuste lawe and iuste men that oderdyned it. For the symple labourer sleeth but one with his knyfke in his angre, but he that is wise sleeth many with the euyll example of his lyuyng. Curioselye I haue regarded, that Rome begynneth to declyne, when our senate faylethe of meke and wylle Senatours, and multyplyeth with these serpentines. The holy senate was adornd with olde prudente persons: And not without teares, I saye at this houre it is full of tanglers and lyers, Auncientelye in the scholes of Grece was taughte onely wordes, leauyng the werkes: and than in Rome was taughte to do werkes, and leauie wordes. But nowe it is contrarye, for nowe in grece the lyers and tanglers are banysshed, and hath sent them to Rome: and Rome hath banyshed and sent the good wylle menne in to Grece: and in this maner I despise rather to be banysshed in to Grece with wylle menne, than to abyde in Rome with fooles. To the prayse of a good man (I sweate to you my frendes) that whyles I was yonge, I saue in the senate the philosopher Crisippus (brought vp with good Traian) speake oftentymes: and he was so swete in his wordes, that many tymes he was harde moxe than thre houres to gether: And he never spake wylde but it was of eternall memorie. And whan soo euer he wente

D. iii.

out

out of the senate, I never sawe hym do dede, wherby he deserued to haue greuous peyn. Certainly it was a metuaylous thynge to see & here the estimation of his eloquence, & the infamy of his person. All Rome was abasshed of his high eloquence: and all Rome and Italy were scandered with his wycked werkes. The prosperitie of Rome dured CCC. yere. And so longe Rome was Rome, as it had simplicitie in wordes, and grauitie in workes. One thynge I shall shewe you, which is great confusion to them alyue, and great admyracion to them that be dede, that of all the aunciente men I never redde a lyght word that they spake, no; an yuell dede that they dydde. What thynge was seene than in that gloriouſ worlde, but to reioyce in ſo gloriouſ wyſe men? And nowe at this daye the worlde is ſo corrupt, bycause there is ſo many ponge corrupt, ſurely I haue gratter enuye of they; dedes thanne of our wyrtynges. They; ſewe wordes and good werkes haue leſte vs example of greate admyracion. And the wyſe men of this tyme teache vs openly, and write vs ſectetely docttines of pation. Than by this that I haue ſayde, and by other examples that I shall ſaye, ye maye knowe what I meane. Whan the realme of Alaye ſubmytted his perillous hor-nes and his proude heed, to the ſwete obeyſaynce of the em-pire, they drewe them to this condition, that they wolde haue benne the hoofes of the garnyſons of all Alye, and not diſciplines of the oratours of Rome. At that ſeason there was in Rome a greate lord, ambassadour of Alaye, tem-perate in wordes, and honeſte of lywyng, with a whyte heed: He was enquired of the ſenate, why he was ſo cruell, to leade into his countrey for men of warre, poore and co-uetous ſquers, and leane wyſe men of greate harte. He aunſwered with ſuche loue as he had to his countrey, and with ſuche grauitie as longed to ſuche a perſone, and alſo with

with suche hardynes as his offyce required, sayinge O fa-
thers conscriptes, O happy peple, It is. ii. days syth I yete
any thynge, and. ii. dayes syth I slepte, cursyng the fa-
tall destynyes of fortune, that hath brougthe me into Ita-
lye, and lamentyng vnto the goddis, that kepe me in this
lyfe, bycause my spritte is betwene the harde anuelde and
the importunate hammet, wher as I do se all is as harde
as the anuelde, wheron the hammer often stryketh. The
thynge mooste peryllous amoung all peryllles, is to make
election. ye constayne me to chose, and myne vnderstan-
dynge canne not attayne thereto: and the goddis doo not
shewe me, what I haue to choose. If I leade garryfons
of menne of armes, it shall be vrye noyfull to the famp-
lycs: if I brynge aduocates, it shall be peryllous for the
common welthe. So wfull that I am, what shall I do?
Oh heuynge and vnhappy realme, that abydeth for theym,
and ye cruell, that commaundeth theym. Than syth it is
thus, I determinyng me to leade theym, that shall waste our
goodes, and spende them, rather thanne those that should
corrupte and breake our customes. for a legyon and an
army by necessarie maye put to affliction and so wle onely
a people: But an oratour or an aduocate by his malice,
maye corrupte a hole realme. Than sayde the empereur to
these wyse men: frenches, howe greatte is the credence of
ignorant people, and losse of lerned men: wherfore shulde
they of Icaine rather gyue meate to poore sowldiours, men
of armes, than to haue for theym neyghbours oratours and
wyse speakyng aduocates: So whan this communica-
tion of the empereur was ended, the. vi. greatte maysters
wente awaie with greatte shame, and the. ix. other taryed
with greatte feare, In all this whyle it passed not two mo-
nethes after, that the prynce Comode, was come from his
voyses, wher as he hadde lerned the doctrine of suckynge

of brestes. Also he was but of tender age, and not of greate delycate vnderstanding. This prince Comode was borne in Rome on the mount Celio, and nourished at the gate of Hostie. He was more detely beloued of Faustina his mother, then hated of Marcus Aurelius his father. And to speake with all due honour amonge them, the mother held her so certayne to be the chyldes mother: and the chylde accordaninge to his customes was moche lyke his mother: and the father was in doubte, whether he were his sonne, bycause he resembled but lytel in vertues to the father.

Chowe the emperour reasoned with the maysters
that shulde lerne his sonne
Capitulo. viii.



L these matters beinge, paste, the good emperour so to esteeme the thynges that he hadde done, and to pourcuy so that he had to do, he called asyde the nyne wyse men, and sayde to them, There is greate fame in Rome of that I haue done in thempire, to doo suche dyligence as to dyscouer all the wyse menne, and of the curiositie that I haue shewed as in certaynyng of the beste. Of trouthe þt þe be wyse, ye can not be sclaudered of any thyng. The annoyance of yll thynges commeth of wylsdome and vertue, but the admryation of good thynges procedethe of smalle vnderstanding oþ lelle experiance. The wyse person wyl suffre none admryation. To shewe at the fyfte bronde motion in euerye thyng, shewed to be constante in nothyng. I haue made straþt examynation among you, so so ought suche to passe as shulde be admittid to straþt amþtys. Newe amities is wery in þre dayes: and euer haue I sene and proued by experiance, that stendes lyghtelye taken, are

are lightly leste agayne. I chaunced in compaunce of an
auncient Romayne, whiche was all whyte for aere; and
bycause he merited it, I called hym father, and he for loue
and nature called me sonne: the whiche in case of aduen-
ture enquiered many thynges of me, but I wolde make
hym none aunswere. Than he sayde these wordes to me:
Hon beholde, In the lawe of frendshyp it is written that
the frende in all thynges trusteth to his frende, fyfth regar-
dynge who is his frende. Surely this councell was good,
The curiouse man of armes (if he wyl bye a horse) fyfth he
wyll se hym renne and assayed, or he speake of the sale of
hym: if he please hym not, though he myghte haue hym
for a lesse p̄ice, he wyll not haue hym: if he please hym,
what so euer the p̄ice is set, he wyll not leaue hym. Than
it is a lefull thyng, that the beaste be examyned and felte
et he be had into the stable. In lyke wyse a manne shoulde
be examyned, et he be receyued in to amytye. And if the
horse that eateth but hey, strawe, and otes, be leste for one
yll tatche, moche more the frende, whiche is the intestynne
of the hatte, and oughte to kepe out secretes and affecty-
ons, for byuers fautes oughte not to be receyued in to the
same. There was a philosophet named Aſispo, the fyfth
that was in the tyme of Sylla and Marius, who sayde,
that frendes oughte to be lyke good horses: That is to say,
that they oughte to haue a lytell heed by humble conuer-
sation: quicke of hetyng, to the entente that they be redye
whan they are called: a softe mouthe, to thende that they
tongue be temperate: The houe of the foote hatde, to suf-
fer travayle: and they handes open to doo good dedes:
theiſt fete ſore to perſuer in amytie: a baye colour for his
good renowne: And fyally the hors retounerthe, that is
the manuall frende: And thereto is ioyned these wordes:
That is, that he be without turbes and bittes; and that he

imare go where as any fatall destynes, tourneth the bxp-
dell and regne of fortune. The goddes vndestrande me,
thouḡ that men can not attempne thereto or comp̄use it. Re-
touninge than to the purpose, I wyll yee knowe, bcause
I haue taken you so; frendes, not to putte you awaie at
length. And though that cherytree produceth they; flou-
res in Februario, we abyde not to haue the cherries but in
Mape. Frendes oughte to be as molberies, that in such
tyme producethe they; berries, whiche is they; fruite, that
they feare not the frostes of Mape, as the vynes doo:
no; the mystes of Octobre, as the peches and quinces doo.
I wyll not that they come whanne the prosperitie is good,
and go awaie whan the fortune is nouḡt. So; that is no
pointe of true frendes, As the lyes of wynes causeth d̄on-
kardes to vomyt in the cauernes, lyke wyse aduersitie d̄i-
ueth awaie faynt frendes out of the house, bcause the ser-
vice is not acceptable, without the wyll be knownen of hym
that dothe it. Channe holde you sute of my contention,
lythe that I haue it of your warkes. I come nowe to the
effecte of our pourpose. I haue taken you so; to be may-
sters of this chyld: and regarde, that I haue taken you
fewe amonge many, to thende that my sonne shulde be no-
ted amonge fewe. His nurses at the gate of Hostie haue
gyuen hym two petes sucke of they; mylke, and his mo-
ther faustyne hath gyuen hym other two petes to spo:te
hym in the Palayes, And I lyke a good father wyll gyue
hym. xx. petes of chastisement. It soore displeaseth fau-
styne his mother to leaue hym so lone, and I am sor: that
I toke hym so late. It is no metuaple, so; these wemenne
with th̄; lyghtenes, and these chyld;en with they; smalle
knowlege, occupy them selfe in chynges present: But wo-
thy wyse men oughte to thynke on that is passed, and also
to o:deynne so; that that is p̄esente, and with great studie to

ploynde to; and by hit to commen. I shalke on euery daye in
 the yere, and of the daye that the goddes haue gyuen me,
 and of the daye that I grue unto you. The goddis to me,
 and I to you do grue hym moxall to be as a manne, and
 than you to me, and I to the goddis do render hym unmox-
 tall to be wylle. what wylle haue I say more? Certaynely
 god hath mabe hym man amoung men by the sowle: and
 I haue engendred hym a beaste amoung beastes by the
 fleshe, ye shall make hym a god amoung goddes by shape.
 I ascettayne you of one thyng, whiche is, I haue not gy-
 enuch to my chylde but mortalle fleshe, wherwith he shall
 take an ende of his lyfe: but ye shall gyue hym doctryne,
 wherwith his memore shal abyte petyshe. If his youthe
 shewe the weake and faynt fleshe that I haue gyuen hym,
 and that his dull vnderstanding wold teache to the wylde-
 dome that ye maye gyue hym, he shalde calle you fathers,
 and me an ylle stepfathet. And thoughte he saye not so,
 yet I confesse it, that is, that the naturalle fathers of the
 fleshe are stepfathers of wodemend, in the that we gyue the
 naturalite of them subiecte to many mutabilitie, and
 bonde and captiuitie to so many amounges. For certayne pe-
 shall be just fathetts to hym, of as nowe ye canne enable
 his fleshe in good customes, and then to byng his vnder-
 standyng to be occupied with high sciences. And syss, re-
 plete it not fawle, that I comande to your charge and at-
 byteneable, that thyng whiche paces oughte mooste to
 regarde, that is to se to whom ther comande the nouys-
 shynge of thynges to do. To be maystres of prynces in
 erthe, is to haue the offyce of the goddis that ben in heuen.
 For they gouern hym that hath cure to gouerne vs: They
 endocctrine vs, and thys shalde teache vs: they shewe unto
 hym, that oughte is shew vs: Chalysse hym that oughte
 to chalise vs: and fynally they comandaunce one, the whi-

che afterwardes aloene may commaunde all the lande.
 What wylle ye that I shall say more? For certayne they that
 haue the charge of a prince, be the gouernall of the Empyre,
 the standarde of an armee, the gouernauce of people, the
 gude of wayes, the shylde of kynges, the treasure of all,
 bicause they haue amonge their handes, hym that after-
 wardes oughe to gouerne all the wold. And furthermore
 to the intent that ye haue hym in more estimation, I wylle
 tolle you, that in grynginge up somme vnto you, I do gryne
 you more, than if I had gryuen you a realme. The pure and
 cleane lyuyng of the sonne alwe, is the gloriouſe fame of
 his fader that is deade, for of hym, that the sonne tru-
 steth in his lyfe, dependeth the renowne of the fader that
 is deade. Thus haue ȳ hadde the goddes at wylle, and the
 bretell desenes of fortune happy to you, as vnto this
 howre ye haue not matched with chyldeyn of straungers.
 So hensforth wake ye with the p̄ynce, whiche is the pro-
 fytte of al oþers. And take good heed my stenders, that there
 is greateſſe diſſerence in brynginge vp of princes chyldeyn,
 than to teache yonge boyes of the common people. The
 moſte parte of them that come to ſchooles, come ſo to leare
 to ſpeakē, but I deluyced not vnto ſome Commaundes to you
 to leare hym to ſpeakē manþ woldes, but ſo to leare hym
 in the way to do good dedes. The glorie of folghe fadres
 is to ſee their chyldeyn vanquyſþ other in diſputenges, but
 my glorie and ioye is to ſee my ſome ſervouſe rather in
 vertue: for the glorie of the Greckes was to ſpeakē moche
 and to do lytell, and the glorie of the Romaynes is to doo
 moche and to ſpeakē but lytell.

Cholme the ſathers of peyneſ ong
 to kepe them from thyres, and no ſuch meſ
 Capitulo, viiiij. dñe: ad misericordiam
 Marcus

MARCVS AVRELIVS. Following his purpose,
 spokned this to his fo;fayde wodes, and sayde: Regarde welle my frendes, and fo; gette nat, that I trust you
 in myne honour, who am my sonnes fathet, and of the stu-
 dye of Comode my sonne, and of the gloope of Romi my
 naturall countrey, And of the solace and resle of Rome,
 whiche is my subiecte: Of the gouernance of Itaþ, whi-
 che is your countrey: And aboue all thynges of the peace
 and tranquillite of our common welthe. Than he that is
 put in trusse with suche administration of other, hath noo
 cause to slepe. Nowe lette vs come to more particular
 thynges. Regarde as nowe, what thyngis is moodre conue-
 nable fo; my sonne, whiche as a yonge colte wolde go play
 in the grette medowes, and nysome shall be the keper to
 hym, and a thyngi peynefull to kepe hym therfro. The
 sy;ste thyngi, wherof I pray you, is to gyue hym a stonge
 bÿdell, and a shatpe bytie, to thentent that he be well mou-
 thed, so that none take hym with lyes, The greatest faute
 that can be in men of honestie, is to spare the trouthe, and
 not to be verisabile: And the greateste byllanye in a byl-
 layne is to be gyuen in largesse of lyes. Sette good oþ-
 der vppon hym. Take heede to his handes, to the entente
 that he accustome hym not to demaunde to playe at the ta-
 bles and dyce with suche as be loste and naughte.
 The greatest token, that a pynce wyl loose and detroye
 the empre, is whan in his yonge age, he is knowen to be
 vycious in playe. The playe is suche a byee, that who so e-
 uer it bytethe, it is lyke the bytryng of a madde dogge,
 the whiche rage endureth vnto deathe. I recomfetide to
 you my childe, though he be yonge, make hym sad and mo-
 derate. Certaynly it is not so great a glorie vnto a pynce
 to haue the crowne on his heed, nor a chaine of gold about

his shulders, nor the sceptre in his hande, nor the greattt
company and garde that he bath abouthe hym, as to shewe
sadnesse frome his yowthe. The open honestye supplyeth
many fautes and debilitieS. Spare not to caste on hym a
stronge chayne, and to tye hym faire, that he goo not to de-
lytes and vanities. For an effeminate persone never hathe
spite to any hys o; noble dedes. I am greatlye satisfiyyed
with that the teacher of Nero sayd to his disciple: Though
I wylt that god wolde pardon me, and that men knewe no
myssle of me, yet for the byllany of the fleshe, I wolde not
synne in the fleshe. Surely they were good woddes, and yl
boorne a wape of Nero. Let not yet goo the tyme. For if he
see the yonge mares, he wyllye neigh o; braye if he see tyme.
The vyce of the fleshe in all tymes, in all ages, and in all
estates holdeth his seafone o; course, if it passe not in the
greene age of chyldehode, castynge of the tyme of seafone,
and styrking with the spurres of the fleshe, and blowynge
with the trompe of sensualitie: Takinge the bridle in the
tethe with a furious wyll, tenyng throughe mountaynes
and woddes after the mare: In leaupnge her goinge but
softelye and in the ouettakynge moche lesse. And than af-
terwarde beinge therin delyberate, the body remayneth im-
potent, the vnderstandinge adloied and blynched, the reason
troubled, the good name loste, and yet neverthelesse at the
laste the fleshe remaineth fleshe. What remedie for this?
I fynde none other but that a greattt quicke fyre, couered
and laden with erthe, dyeth. And whan the vittious man is
laide in his graue, he maketh an ende and maye never cor-
recte hym selfe. Wherefore I adupse you to gyue noo place
to this yonge chylde to be vycious. And in the chastyng
of hym, gyue noo respice, thoughte he be yonge, and my
childe, and wel loued and cherlyshed with his mother, and
thoughte he be the only heire of chempire. With chyldyn of
a stan-

a stranger crueltie is tiranny, but a mannes owne chylde
 pitie is the occasion of his losse in tyme to come. It is shew-
 ned vs by trees, how we ought to nourishe our children. Of
 trouthe the cheschain trees bringe forth the softe swete chest-
 nut out of the sharpe prickinge and hard huske: And on the
 nut trees amonge the swete softe leaues, is nourished the
 harde nutte. Applying this to our purpose, we haue seene
 a pitiefull fater, bringe forthe a cruell son, and a cruel fa-
 ther a pitiful sonne. He that was learned amonge all other
 learned, and renoumed among all other renoumed, Ligur-
 gus kinge of the Lacedemoniens, in giwinge his lawes in
 his realme, I rememb're to haue redde therin these wordes:
 we comande as kinges, and pray as men, that all thyng
 be forgiuen to them that be olde and broken: and to them
 that be yonge and lilly, to dissimule for a tyme: a nothing
 to be forgiuen to very ponge chylden. In good sothe these
 were good wordes spoken of suche a persone, and semethe
 treason. For it is reasonne that the hors, that hathe runne
 and passed his course of carriage, shoulde teste hym. And
 who that hath passed rightousely, it is Justice that he be
 sussered in teste. And the chylde that wyl passre reasonne,
 ought to be reformed. Cause hym to be alwayes occupied
 in vertuous actes. For if the vnderstandinge be dulled,
 and the body slouthefull in suche aye, with greatte dys-
 cultye wylle they drawe to thynges that be straunge to
 they; delectacions, bycause that the lyghtenesse is in the
 heed, and reasonne vnder the eyes. His youthe wylle de-
 maunde you some recreation, whiche ye shall consyder, soo
 it be not often nor to seldomie. Fynde that it be by reasonne:
 Secoundely that they be taken in noble exercyses. Take
 heede, for I gyue not my sonne vnto you, that ye shoulde
 gyue hym recreation, but onely for to teache hym.

The

The henne hauyng her egges vnder her wyrnes, in that season gothe not abrode in the pardes, and though the egges be not her owne, yet she hawchethe therem, as if they were her owne, for this cause at this tyme in Rome of a C. disciples. xxx. cometh forth withoute doctryne, for if they; masters wast two houres in doctryne with them, they lese with the. xx. houres in mockerye. And therof it is, that of the small grauitie of the maister, spryngeth great boldenes and lyttell shame in the disciple. Belue me frndes, that the teachers to prncis, and maisters to disciples, profyte more in one day with good exaumples, than in a yere with many lessons, My sonne seynge you drawe to vertues, wyll drawe to the same, if he see you studie, he wylle study, if he se you peasyble, he wyll be stilly: he seynge you temperate in fedynge, wyll eate but lyttel: seynge you shamfast, he wyll feare you, seynge you restefulle, he wyll rest, and if ye doo contrary, he wyll do contrarye. This surelye is true, for the auncient men onely with the euill that they se, eyther do they corrupte they; bodyes, or sclaundre they; owne iugementes, as chyldeyn do, that can saye nothynge but that they here: no; do nothynge but that they se. I wyl also that the prnce my sonne leyne the. vii. attes lybetalle. For I haue taken many of you, to thentente that ye shulde teache hym moche. And if at the laste we shulde be sorrowfull, bycause he hath not learned all, we shal not be sorry, if he knowe moche, no; thynke his tyme yll spente, no; be begyled, in sayinge, that he knoweth inough of that so yonge a chylde shulde haue to gouerne and rule thempire. A very philosopher after the lawe of lygnage, oughte to haue speche at place and tyme conuenient, to fyght in the felde, and to speke in the senate. If myne owne remembraunce belye me not, amonge myne antiquities I haue brought a ston out of Grece, the whiche Pythagoras y philosopher helde

helde at the gates of his schole, wherin was wrytten with his owne handes, these wordes: He that knoweth not, that he ought to knowe, is a brute beaste amonge men: He that knoweth noo more, than he hath nede of, is a man amonge brute beastes: He that knoweth all, that may be knownen, is a god amonge men. O mooste highe wordes, Gloriosus is the hande that wroote them, the whiche not at the gates, as they were than, oughte to be wrytten, but within mens beastes they shoulde be paynted and grauen. Our forefathers toke the laste sentence of this philosopher, and the syrue rebuke abydereth to vs they; last chyldren. For certayne amonge the Greces and Lacedemoniens was attempned as moche fame by they; philosophers and conques-
ttes, as by they; wyrtinges, whiche they haue lefte vs. And our former emperours gatte no lesse loue in they; empyre, by they; profounde eloquence, thanne they feared all the woldes by they; noble triumphes. For a profe wherof, beholde Julius Cesat, whiche beinge in the myddell of his campe, with his lyfte hande wolde holde his speare, and his penne in his ryghte hande. He he never lefte of his armour, but forthewith he toke his bookes. We muste not lay excuses, sayinge with them that be ignoraunte, that the lybetall artes are to hys, and the tyme that we haue, vrye shorte. For certayne the dylgence of men in tymes past, tēproueth our flouth at this day. One thyng I do se, that in a shorte whyle we leue all vs, but in a longe season we can not leue goodness. Wyll ye se, what is our fortunes and destynes, and in what thoughte the goddes doo kepe vs, that for to doo one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many shewdourtines, we haue to moche tyme. I wyll say no more, but that I wolde, my chylde shulde be nouryshed in suche wryse, that he shoulde leue the feare of god, the science of philosophers, the vertues of aunciente Ro-

maynes, the quyntnes of you his maysters, and the goodness of all theym that be good, as he hathe taken of me to be the heire of the empyre. I protest to the immo; tall goddis, to whom I truste for to go: and protest to the hys capitol, wher my bones shall be brenne, that neyther Rome nowe in my lyfe, nor the heuens in tyne to come shal curse me after my death, if by yll lyuyng my sonne shoulde lese the common welthe, yf by your small chastisement, ye shal be cause of the losse of the empire.

Chowe the imperour Marcus nourished the princes his doughters. Cap. x.

Marcus Aurelius the emperour hadde two sonnes, that is to wytte, the pynce Comode and Verissime: He hadde four doughters by Faustyne his wyfe, legitimate and heires of the empyre. This emperour was exceedingly diligent for to nourishe his doughters. As soone as any of them were borne, forthwith they were put to nours in to some ferme withoute Rome: He wolde never suffre any of his chyldryne, sonnes nor doughters, to be nourished within the walles of Rome: Noz consente, that they shoulde sucke the brestes of delycate wemenne. He hated delycate and gaye nourses, and they that were laborous homely and holosome he loued, and to them and none other he brouke his chyldryen to nouryshe, and he wolde never agree, that they shoulde be broughte home to his howse. He was wonte to say in his spoxyng: I haue more adoo to content these nouryses, than to matry my doughters. Homere shewethe, that in Grecce there dyed Atthenio, that was kynge of Atgiue, withoute any sonne to inheryte: and the nourse, that hadde nourished hym, with all her

her myghte demanded the realme for a sonne of hers, whiche hadde sucked of the same mylke, that the sayde kyng had done, allegynge, that syth they were bothe nourysched togþher, and sucked one mylke, that they boþe shulde enherite one realme. This sayde Romer, to reproue the nouerces of Grece, whiche toke more p̄esumption for nouerisshynge of þancis, than quenes dyd in beatyng of theym. Therfore this noble Marcus Junelius emp̄tour, wolde not that his daughters alone shoulde sucke grosse and rude mylke, but he wolde not agre, that any reuerence honour, or seruice shulde be doone vnto them, as it belongeth to the chylðren of so hyghe þancis to be doone, and as the custome is to be doone. On a daye as the sayde emp̄tour was at supper, a foole named Galindo, at whose wodes the emp̄tour often toke pleasure, sayde, Wyþ yesterdare I came from Salon, and fro the gate of Hostie, and there I sawe the emp̄tours chylðren goo lyke labourers, and I see here in thy house labourers chylðren go lyke emp̄tours: Telle me, whyp do ye dysymule as a wyse manne, for I that am but a foole vnderstandeþ it not. The emp̄tour aunswereþ: O Galindo, bycause that yet atte this tyme, Rome is not Rome, all though he throughe all the woldē hit be renouwned Rome. In my selfe I fynde farrre moxe assutaunce, that my chylðren begynne lyke poore labourers, and ende as tyche emp̄tours, thanne to begynne as tyche emp̄tours, and ende as poore squires. Doest thou not knowe whyp Italy is nowe loste? They wolde haue theyþ chylðren to be wantonly and delycatelye nourysched, and wyl not suffre theym to lyue in trauele, and to leaue theyþ heþres poore and nedye, and theym selfe to ende in greate peryll. This aunswere was so excellente in fame, that it was euer taken for a prouerbe in Rome. Whan this emp̄tours daughters were of two yere olde,

incontinent he prouided wommenne and maystresses for to
 teache them. *Sextus Cheronense* sayth, that he serched a-
 monge the auncient mattones of Rome, whiche were clea-
 nest of lyfe, mooste esteemed of good fame, of noblenesse of
 bloudde, of sadde wytte, and that had bene mooste vsed in
 bringinge vp of prancis chylzen. This emperour was so
 thoughtefull in the oderynge and teachynge of his chyl-
 dzen, that he wolde haue noo weman, but if she were of. i.
 yere of age at the least, and. x. yere a wydowe, and that she
 hadde nourished a. C. chylzen, doughters of senatours.
 Imagininge, that she that had medled in so manþ thynges
 of other mens, shulde not be ignorant in her owne. After
 that he hadde prouyded these maystresses, he caused his
 doughters to be broughte to theyz houses, and there gane
 them theyz charge. And from the birth of any of his dough-
 ters, he wolde never consent, that they shulde come into his
 palays, tyll they shulde haue husbandes. It chanced, that
 Faustine the empresse chylde a doughter, and she beynge
 certified, that it was lyke her, and very faire, moued with
 a softe harte of womanheed, and with a motherly affection,
 prayed the emperour, that the sayde chylde myghte be nou-
 shed in her presence, sythe euery man sayde, the chylde was
 so faire and so lyke vnto them. The emperour aunswered
 and sayde: Faustyne, for those thynges that all other haue
 sayde to you, dothe it beseme you, to demaunde this of me?
 But I that haue red in this case, and in other cases haue
 sene, in no maner I oughte to condiscende thereto. Do you
 not knowe, that the tyme, that the doughter is nouysched
 in the house, the fater is charged with thoughte, the mo-
 ther with wantō flatteringes, envy in the bretberne, bolde-
 nes in the doughter, and folþ in the nouryce. I wolde wyt
 of you, if she were nouysched in the house: what profyt-
 tethe it, if her maystresse teache her sddenesse and honestie
 with

with her wordes: and we entice her to lewdenes with our
workes and dedes: what profyterth it, if the doughter de-
serue chastyemente, and the mother flatter and make her
wanton: More reason it were, that your doughter shoulde
folowe the good doinges of you, that are her mother, than
the wordes of the straunge wydowe, that is her maystres.
Marke well faustyne, if ye oughte to rejoyce at her chyl-
dys the toys. Remembrie, that the plesure of yonge chylđren,
is but chylđys the trifles. But if you nourysched theym not
well, as the pleasures were ioyfull whan they were yonge,
so whan they be olde, to refayne them, shall be greater dis-
pleasure. Therfore, if you be vertuous, with drawe they
iappyng trifles as nowe, for them that shall be vertuous.
I wyl tell you one thyng, I wolde rather my doughters,
in myne absence, shulde be disciples to vertues, than to be
maystresses in lewdenesse in my presence. And sythe it is so
I desire you, require it not of me. And I despise you, that it
be not so. I am importune on you, that ye be not importu-
nate on me. I pray you, that you pray not me. Dels I com-
mande you, that you demande it no more of me. This hard
aunsweare of the fater, ceassed the importunitie and ptytie-
full request of the mother. Thus faustine, all fearefulle,
leinge the fater within the walles of Rome, durste not go
se her doughter without, but as priuely as she myght.

Chowe Marcus thumperour dyd chose and pro-
ued his sonnes in lawe. Cap. xi.



IKE VVISE AS MARCVS Aurelius the
emperour surmounted in vertues all mortalle
men, that dyed, soo for certayne in mariage of
his doughters he seemed to be kin to the goddes
that euere spue: by the grace and gyfte of god,
f. iii. o; by

or by his fortune, he was as happye in vertuouse sonnes
 in lawe, as greatlye infortunate of dyshonest doughters.
 After the deathe of the good olde manne, with the smalle
 thoughte of the prynce his sonne in his gouernance, and
 vngoodly fame of his doughters in they; lyvynge, it se-
 med to haue made an ende of the gloriouse memorie of the
 father, but if it were by the soueraygne goodnesse of his
 sonnes in lawe, that he hadde chose by his lyfetyme. It is
 dayely scene, that the losse of the fater by evill chyldezene,
 is wonne by vertuous sonnes in lawe. Than Marcus
 Aurelius, in chosynge husbandes for his doughters, he
 toke not of dryuers, that the vanptye of the worlde offered
 hym: but of a fewe, that of manye folkes were esteemed to
 be of good behauour, and that to his semynge were such
 in dede. And as in maryages all the erroure is to couete
 goodes that be in the pourse, and not to examyne the per-
 sonne that is broughte to the house, He regardynge this,
 marayed not his doughters to straunge kynges, but to na-
 turall borne Senatours, not to such as dyscended frome
 hyshe lygnage, as were the Sipions, fabrycions, and
 Co:quates: but to such that with they; vertues reysed
 newely good lygnages: No: he marayed theym not to such
 as were presumptuous of the prowes and dedes of they;
 predecessours: but to theym that replendysched by the de-
 des of they; owne personnes. No: of trouthe he chose none
 that were very ryche, but such as were vertuous: nor su-
 ches as were soone moued, but such as were quiete: not the
 hyshe mynded: but to the moderate, that were no bosters,
 but shamefaste: noo bablers, but smalle speakers: no qua-
 rellers, but sufflers: not to presumptuous, but to theym
 that were meke: not to halye men, but to theym that were
 pacient: not to theym that were esteemed amonge the com-
 mons, but unto theym that deserued laude amonge wise
 men.

men. In this maner he trusted noo personne, for he marp-
ed not his doughters to suche as were p;apsed a farre of:
but to them that of longe tyme had ben proued nerchande.
In good faythe herein his reasone was good. For in the
thynges that towcheth a mannes honour, he that is wyse
oughte not to trust in the onely information of straungers:
No; he is not wyse, that is so hardy, to doo all thynges by
his owne semynge and opynpon. And he is but a symple
personne, that w'll do all thynges after the opinyon of stran-
gers. And in these pointes the empctour Marcus hadde a
good respecte to kepe theym: In walkynge good teste, In
speakyng great eloquence, in eatynge good temperaunce:
In answeringe great subtiltie: In his sentences and deter-
mynations great grauitie. And therfore in this case of ma-
ryage he was full of grauitie, tyll he was therin determy-
ned. And this onelye came not of hym, but of other, whan
they came to p;rap hym. It befell that in a feaste of the god
Janus, the empctour goinge to the campe of Mars, up-
pon a lussy hors syers and flyngynge, he mette soo rudelye
with a trumpettour, that coursed as a knight vpon a hors,
that with the stroke of metyng, the trumpettour was ouer-
thowen with his hors, soo that he was slayne, and them-
perours hors legge broken, and his owne foote hurte, and
his arme out of ioynte. So greatlye entreated his hurte,
that he was in perylle, Ita lyte in heuynesse, and all Rome
was in doubt of his lyfe. And bycause a fewe dapes afore
that, he had communycation of a maryage for his thyde
doughter, named Mattina, for the determination that he
shulde haue made the same daye, great suite was made to
hym. But so; the great peyne of his arme, and the bloude
that was congeled in his bodye, and the anguylshe that
was at his herte, as for the demaunde that was offred
hym, he dysferred the answere tyll an nother daye.

The

The whiche day commen, in open presence he sayde in this manier.

Cwhat the emperour Marcus sayde to the fa-
ther of a yonge man that wolde marie
one of his daughters. Cap. vii.



Stentymes I haue sene in other, and haue p-
ued by experiance, that the smalle consyderati-
on passed, and the greate acceleration in busi-
nesses nowe p-
esent, maketh great inconueni-
ences in tyme to come, onles that at that point
the thyng be commytted to the vctue of some wylle per-
sone, rather than to his owne sole opinion. Neuer the lesse
in the case of mariage, though the father be wylle, yet with-
out the opinion of an other, he ought not to determinyn hym
lyghtly: for enuyous fortune, though she shewe her selfe
somwhat frowarde in all thynges, yet in this case of mar-
iage, she ouerthoweth moxe than in all the other. He that
wyll speake of mariage, oughte to entre into his owne se-
cretnes, and to thynke profoundely theron, as of a thyng
that all his welthe lyethe in, his credence, his lyfe, his ho-
nour, his good fame, the reste of his owne personne, and
his tleshe, whiche is his chylde. I am of opinion, that yf
all wylle men were molten in a fournaynes, they coulde not
gyue one good counsell to make a mariage: And wolde ye
that I, whiche am simple, shuld do it lyghtly by my selfe?
Truely therin behoueth ynce and sadde counsell. For ones
fallen into the peccyll therof, none may haue remedye with-
oute greaterre peccyll. The renowned Marcus Porcius,
whose lyuyng was a myxout in his dapes, and his wo-
des and counsels remayne so; a remembraunce, sayd open-
ly in the senate: O noble fathets and happy people, by the
decrees

decrees openly proclaymed in places accustomed, I know
that in a counsel and senate ye 0;deyned thre thinges, that
is, ye vndertoke to make a newe warre agaynst the Par-
ches, to continue the enmitie agaynst the Penitens, and to
marie. v. hundred matrones of Rome, to . v . C. knygh-
tes of Mauritanie. And certaynely I am abashed, that a-
monge wyse men so hygh assayres shulde be so soone and
sodaynely concluded and determined. To satisfie myn vn-
derstandinge, and so; the good wylle that I owe to the
countrey, I shall saye one worde, that is, to begyn warre
and to pursue hatred and yll wyl, and to conclude mari-
ages, In these causes a man ought to aske councell of all
the men of the wold, and al the goddis ought to correcte
and amende it, And r. M. counsaylynges wolde be hol-
den vpon eche of these thynges. These wordes were woz
thy of great recommendation. So; one thyng by dyuers
opinions ought to be determinyd: But many thinges by
one opinion oughte not to be determinyd. And if this be
so; all thinges, it serueth then most specially in mariages.
My frēdes, ye sap, that he that offreth him to be my sonne
in lawe, is greatly desyred loued and wel named amonge
the common people. To sell suche marchandyse, set it not
in so yll a shewe. The credence of an honest manne lyeth
not amonge the common boyce of the people, but amonge
philosophers: not amonge many, but amonge fewe: not
amonge howe many, but what they be. ye know your selfe
that at this houre all that the commons thynke is but a
bayne thyng: that they prayse is false: that they con-
demne is good, that they approue, is nougat, that they
alowe is shamefull: and finally al that they laude, is but
folye. They, praysing beginneth with lyghtnes, their fo-
lowynge without ordre, and it endeth with furie. O how
many haue I sene in Italye lyke the lies of wyne cast out

of the senate, and after put as fyre brondes of tauernes in
 Rome, by whose opinions the comon welth is gouerned,
 and with great lyghtnes men put downe, and with no les
 lyghtnes exalted agayne. Beholde here, that the warkes
 of the people are holden in mockage with wyse men: and
 that that is agreed amonge theym, is esteemed but for ba-
 nities with wise men: for that that is meale with philoso-
 phers, is eaten but for branne and chaf with symple folk:
 and contrarie wise the meale of the symple, is but branne
 & chaffe amonge wise men: Of all that our predecessours
 haue syfted, in these dayes the chyldren of vanytyc worke
 thereafter, for they wyll be desyred, and hate to be hated.
 All suche holdeth a generall rule, that euery man that de-
 syreteth to be beloued of euery man openlye, can not escape
 fro dyuers secrete fautes. Shall I tel you who is best be-
 loued nowe adayes? Then harken to me, and I wyl tell
 you, as moch as it toucheth, to whom it may touch, hurte
 who it may hurte, fele it who that may fele it. The people
 loueth hym, that can dissimule with them, that be nought,
 and eniuious of theym that be good, and suche as fauout-
 lyers and setteth trouth asyde, and suche as accompani-
 eth with mankyllers and murtherers, and to be scruced of
 theues, and fauoureth quarrellers, and pursueth suche as
 be peisable, delyuerte the offenders, and fleeche innocentes,
 shuome them that be shamefull, and shame them that
 be of good fame: finally he his most set by, þ putteth them
 that be good fro hym, and is the most bayne among them
 that be bayne. Certaynly there is greate suspectioun to set
 hym amonge wyse men, that is allowed of all folcs. And
 the reason therof is, that the commons lyghtly loue none
 but men that with malyce refrayneth them that be vertu-
 ous, and letteth the rayne slyppe to them that be vicious.
 Truly wyse men haue hym as suspect that the commons

desire,

desyre, whiche wyl not be despleased with his yl doinges.
 O howe often tymes doth the goddis permitteth the ambi-
 tious man in honours, that procureth to do yll many dats
 without Justice, and doth not beholde the sodayne hole
 losse therof with shame? Than take this wodde of me, that
 in the multitude of men there are fewe to be praysed, and
 many to be reprehued.

Chowe a son in lawe oughte to be wel examined er he be
 accepted to his purpose.ca.xiii.

 Owe to come to our particular purpose, ye a-
 monge you do prayse this yonge man, and yf
 his werkis be as your wordes, ye shoulde not
 onely say, that he hath merited to be my sonne
 in lawe, but rather meriteteth to be onelye inhe-
 ritour of the hole empire. And therfore I wolde wytte of
 you, wherof you can praise this your kynsman, that ther
 be no contrarytie betwene his werkis and your wordes.
 If he be rusticall, it abateth hym soye: if he be of hyghe
 blode, he wyl be presumptuous: if he be ryche, he wylle
 gyue hym to viciousnes: if he be pore, he wyl be couetous:
 if he be valiant, he wyl be ouerholde: yf he be a coward
 he is defamed: if he be a greate speaker, he shall be a lyer:
 if he be to lyttelle a speaker, he shall be noted as vnwyse:
 yf he be faire, he wylle be coueted: if he be foule, he wylle
 be ielous. Than if he be quite of all these, I swete to you
 that I wyl gyue hym my doughter Mattine with all my
 hart. I do not say this unto you, because I suppose any yl
 in your kynsman: but to thentent that ye shulde thynke,
 that I say it accordyng to my naturalite. And than sythe
 I say it not agaynst your credence, for the knowelege that
 ye haue of him, mistake not my suspection, sith that I am

G.ii. hole

hole ignorant of this yonge mans lyuyng. And I wyl not, that ye shulde thynke, that the chylde my doughter, that hath ben brought vp in so great vertu in my palays, shulde be maried to this yong man for the only fame that he hath amonge the people. O howe ofte haue I sene in our tyme nowe, and haue redde of the woldē passed, the whiche as nowe by commandement of the goddis, at an other tyme by theyz yll wōkes haue deserued hit, at an other tyme by theyz sorowfull destenies haue permitted it, wenynge for to bryng sonnes in lawe in to theyz hōuse, haue brought in a hell: In stede of wise and faire doughters, haue recouered adders: In sekynge sonnes, haue founde basiliske serpentes: In brynging of blouddde, person delyuered: In sekynge frendes, they haue founde enemys: In demaundyng honour, shame hath be gyuen: and finally in mariengh theyz chyldren, wenynge to haue lyued metly, the sorowfull fathers haue had cupple lyft and a wōrs dethe. And in case that suche ought to be moued more of them that be ioyous, than they that ben sorwe of them that bene ioyous: as well oughte we to approue the iuste chastisement of the iuste goddes, by the vniust wōkes done to iuste men. For he deserueth great chastisement, that with ferefull hardynes as a foole determineth hym selfe in hygh and difficult thinges with sodayn counsell. And therfore my frendes, if ye be vertuous, be not abashed of that that I saye, nor take the examination that I make in a slander: If I take this yonge man to be my sonne, to be sonne in lawe to Faustyne my wyfe, husbande to my doughter Matryne, b̄roder to Comodius the prince, felowe to them of the senate, kynsman to my kinsfolke, and lordē of my seruantes: It is treason, that suche a robe oughte well to be regarded, syth that so many persons muske weare the lyueray therof. The garmente that

so many persons must weare, muste be wpsely cut, to content them all. We se naturally many thynges noyfull to vs, if it be nere vs, and yet not damageable to vs ferre of. The sonne with his shynynge beames dothe parche the fleshe of the people of Ethiope, bycause hit is nere vnto them: and contrary wylle it dooth noo grefe to theyr persons that inhabyte in the ende of Europe: for bycause hit toucheth them a ferre of. There haue bene dyuers sonnes of Rome, whiche beyng in straunge countreys, haue done greate psonite to the common welthe, and no lesse famed throughout the worlde, whiche after they were returnd to theyr owne houses, haue spplyte moze bloudde of innocentes, than they had done before of the Barbatiens. And that it is sothe demaunde of Iulius Cesar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Casius, of Catilina, and of Lypulius, of Octavius, and Marcus Anthonius, of Caligula and of Nero, of Othus and Domitianus.

And as I saye of soo small a nombre of bastarde chyldren that helde Rome, I maye saye of dyuers other tyrauntes broughte vpp in Italye. Beleue me in one thyng, All that is agreeable to vs abode, agreeethe not to vs yf we bryng them in to the howse. For there goth many thinges betwene the entreatynge of a man in wordes, and to be longe conuersant with hym in workes. Lyttell nedeth humayne ignozance for to begyle an other, and yet lesse to be begyled of many an other. With a meke visage, swete, wordes in the tongue, good delyberation in the persone, temperance in the worlde, every one may begyle an other nowe adayes: and by shreudenes and malyre, is beguled hym selfe. I say to you, I betnge a yonge man knewe the famous oratour Taurin propose dyuers tynies in the senate: And on a day he spake for a Romayn matron, which shulde haue marayd an honest doughter of hers to a may-

Set of horses, by semynge a Romayne, and not very well appoynted: And amonge other wordes he sayde: O noble fathers, O happy people, commande not that thyng that afterwarde ye wolde were not commaunded: An yll mariage is lyke as he that shoteth a pellet of duste, it hurteth hym that it toucheth, and blyndethe them that stande nexte. Sothelye these were hie wordes, and the comparsion well vnderstonden, conteyneth in it sentences of grauitie. It is manyfest to all men, that an ylle sonne in lawe is the deathe of the wyfe that hath hym, shame to the frendes that procured it, and at the laste an yll ende for hym selfe, and for his father that offered it. Thanne by all these thynges that I haue sayde, ye may vnderstonde what I thinke in this mariage. His saynges thus ended, the Senate was greatly edified therewith, and the knyghtes, kynsfolke to this yonge man, grately abashed: and fasshion the empresse soye confused, for by her introduction, the matter was moued, & howe this mariage fayled, the historiens write not, whom we haue folowed in this werke.

How Marke thempour fauored al noble exercyses, and hated trewandes and fooles.ca. viii.



The vertues of this good emperour, and the knowlege of sciences, the worthines in armes, and the purenes of his lyuyng, caused hym to be named among the famous me of Rome. The gentylle conuersation that he had with euerye man, made hym to be renowned amonge the worthieste of all the wold, the thinge mooste agreeable without reprehencion of the greatest, meane, and leaste is, that a lord and prynce of many, to be communicable and conuersant with many. All the good werkes of good men may be condempned

well set with the yll intentions of them that be ylle: But the
no: good condicions haue such a priuilege, that of yl the good
nge is praysed, and the good approueth the yll. In a mans ly-
ll yngē there is none so great a byce, but by good conuersa-
tion it is couered and hid: And contrary wise no cryme is
nde secrete, but with yll conuersation, at the tyme that it huc-
ari-
tia-
we and faynt in secretenes, & of gentyll conuersation abrode,
ten as it is of hym that is secrete, and is rude and of yll con-
pm uersation openly. Dyuers not being of good order & poly-
e se cie, we haue sene couersant a gret whyle in Rome, only for
t J beinge wel conditioned. And many mo we haue sene, that
De in a shorte whyle after they were put in office, haue ben so
es, proude and hasty in theyz condicions, that they haue bene
au deprivued from theyz offices. And this we say bycause this
the good emperour was so toyous of visage, soo amiable in
to: his customes, soo louynge in his conuersation, that lyght-
ly he wolde caste his armes aboue the necke and on the
sholders of them, and take them by the handes, that had
any thinge to doo with him. The porters shulde not lette
them that wolde accompany hym in the palays: nor his
garde was not so hardy to put a backe such as wold speke
with hym in the feldes. In all his aeges he applyed to
that that euery age gaue hym by nature: He was a childe
amonge children: yonge amonge yonge folkes: woldely
with them that were woldely: good felowe with good fe-
lowes: A baton among batons: Hardy with hardy men:
and finallie olde with olde menne. He was wonke to saye,
whan any in his presence that were yonge and not welle
taught in their language, gested at the debilitie of auge,
or olde me at the soyle of youth: Leave them sith they leus
you. Many tymes of wise yonge men cometh olde soles:

And

And of yonge fooles customably cometh wise olde men. Naturalyte at the laste maketh all thynges in kynde. As of greatte debilitie we canne drawe but smalle strengthe, by out naturalitie we may for a tyme resistre it, but not vterly mayster it. I am soze abashed that some that wyll be so lordely and valiant in vertues, and so hygh mynded, that they wyll make vs beleue, that they lyuinge in the fleshe, & beinge of fleshe, onely fele not the fleshe. I can not telle, yf nature hath made other of an other nature than I am of, or me of an other nature thanne other be, for I beinge neuer so faste inclosed in the swete conuersation of philosophie, yea in the beste tyme, this false fleshe wolde calle atte the gate with his noughtye fleshe. The more that we reyse and exalte vs with science and gette liberties, the more lower we doo putte the fleshe with her mynuries. Belue me one thyng, that if a tree beareth not in hygmetyme his flowers, we hope not to haue the fruite in harueste tyme: and a yonge man that hathe not passed his youthe with yonge people, we haue noo hope that he shulde passe is age with olde men. And as we may resistre our naturalitie and not cleane to forðoo it, those fathers erre, that are so extremely affectioned, to haue theyz chylđren to begynne as olde men, wherupon it foloweth, that they ende as yonge. This emperour was soo wylle in all thynges, that amonge them that were myrie, he was of great mythe: And in verities he was very veritable: In his pastimes he was greattely temperate, and a louer of musike, specially in good voyce and instrumentes, and soze displeased if he harde any discoide therin. He passed most of his youthe in lernynge of sciences. Whan he came to mannes state, he exercised feates of knyghthode: he loued disciplyne and not of adulacion. He was apt and happye in armes, but yet in rydinge of hōsles he hadde

ost

ofte tymes woll haphe. In his yonge age he delyted to play at the tennys, and at the chesse in his aye. He loued not these counterfayting plapers of farces and mummeries, and yet lesse trewandes, that bene natural fooles, tuglers, and gesters for pleasure. The players and gesters suffred greac varietie in the empire, accordyng to the diuersite of emperours. Julius Cesar susyned theym, Octauian his newewe droue theym away, Caligula called theym a-gayne, Cruell Nero banyshed them, Nerus made theym come agayne, Good Traian banyshed them out of al Ita-ly, Anthony Pius brought theym in aye: And by the handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurelius, they ended. And the occasion was, the Romayns dyd celebrete with great ioye, the .viii. day of May, the great feaste of the mother Betecynte, mother of all the goddis. The sacred priestes flamines diales, wold haue brought thither these mynstrelles tuglers and gesters, for to rejoyce the feaste, and contrarie wylle the holy nunnes vestales wolde haue done the same, so that variance felle betwene theym, some with force, and somme with resistence, and some tanne thider in fauouryng of bothe parties, and not a fewe, to de-parte theym. The cruell and greate noyse of slaughter amonge them, was suche, that it tourned the feaste to we-pynge, the pleasures into sorowes, and they; songes into waylynge. This good emperour laboured to pease this furie of the people, and to sette peace among the ney-bours of Rome. Whan all was done, he made curious diligenc to serche out all the players, tuglers, and iestours of Rome, and in all the circuite of Ita-ly, that they might be chastised, and Rome delyuered of them. And for ex- ample of all the wold, he sente theym to the gate of Hostie, and commaunded to seire them in Galies, and to banyshen them for euer, into the yles of Hellispont: whiche was ac-

complyshed, as the emperour commaunded. And fro that daye, was never sene at Rome, tuglet nor tesser, as longe as the emperour lyued. But it pastid not two yeres after his deathe, but they retourned, whan his sonne hadde the rule. And excepte the bokes doo ly, there was in Rome greater nombre of fooles than of wyse men.

COf the good conuersation of this emperour
Marcus Aurelius. Cap. xv.

WChau sayd of the hatred that this emperour had to trewandes, reuelers, getters, tuglers, gesters, and suche other: Nowe wyl we speke of his laudable exercyses of them that came to hym. To be welle condicioned, the malyce of mankynde is so great, that as good men are bounde to regard the yll, so do they that be yll, regarde to distroy the good. The trace of vertu is as good in good thingis, with them þ be good, as the vice & dishonestie of euyll folkes, is in euyll thinges. What greater corruption in this wroldc may be, than a vertuous persone, for one wroke of vertue, can not fynde one to helpe hym to wroke it, and whan he alone hath wroughte it, there cometh tenne thousande to gaynsaye hym. The greatest goodnes of all goodnes is, whan tyuannies are putte vnder by vertues acquyzed: or to fynde remedye agaynst accustomed byces, with good inclynations. And the greatest euyll of all euyls, is whan a persone forgetteth that he is a manne, puttynge reason vnder fote, straynyng his hande agaynst vertue, and letteth vice rule the bridell. This emperour Mar. Aurelius steyned in his lyfe great glorie, in the eschewyng the vili- ny of vyllaynes: no lesse merited he immortall memorye, in sufferyng dyuers dyshonesties in the execution of his

ver-

vertues. An vnfallible rule hit is, amonge the chyldren
of vanitie, to chylde the vices of theym that be vycyous.
And the vertues welle inco;po;rate, nouys;she many enui-
ous. They that be ylle, benne allwyses double ylle, by-
cause they beate armour defensiu;e, to defende they; owne
puelles: and armes offensiu;e to assaylle the good ma-
ners of other. The trowthe is, if good menne be dyly-
gente to seke other that be good, no lesse oughte they fo;
to hyde theym from theym that be ylle: fo; a good manne
with one synger, hathe power ouer all theym that be ver-
tuous, but fo; to withstande one ylle personne, he hathe
nede of handes feete and frendes. And thoughe fortune
be ylle to good menne, they; owne p;op;ie fame shall be
spente as of straungiers. This good emperoure was
stronge in vertue, meeke in wordes, attemperate in his
exercyses, homely with euery manne, sadde amonge sadde
men, hasty amonge hasty men, merci with merci men, and
wise amonge wyse men, as it is conuenable fo; a curyous
p;ince to be. And whan these are approued in the lawe of
good men, by cleare understandynge, as well shall they be
condempned by theym that haue yll intencions. Thanne
as the cooles canne not be in the embres without sparkis,
no; corruption of the carion withoute stenche: no mo;re can
he that hath a hole and cleare herre be, withoute info;syng
hym to vter louynge wordes: And he that hathe an ylle
harre, alwyses ouercommeth other with wordes of ma-
lyce. fo; it is certayne, fo; a small seasone the louer maye
absteerne his loue, and yette lesse tyme the payne of hym,
that is payned with loue hydde. The so;owfule syghes,
shewe the hurtte of the harre, and the malicious wordes di-
scouer the yll of the harre. we haue sayde all this, bycause
that the bountie of this good Emperoure Marcus Au-
telius set all his joy and gladnes in them that were good,

and bewayled them that were ylle. And as in semblable thynges, the worthy men shewe their worthynges, and wise men their wisedome, beinge vertuous in wokyng, and wise in knowlegynge, were very wise in dissimulyng. One of the vertues, that a wylle man ought to haue (wherin he shall be knownen as wylle) is that he can suffre well. For a man þ can suffre well, was never but wylle & wel manerd, and therwith to suffre the vertue of yll busines, is a thing reasonable, of all reasonable beastis, and of them that be good, very good. And by contrarye wise, the man that can not well suffre, though it be in very iuste thynges, hopeth not to be wellc treated. And lykewise as this Emperoure Marcus in all vertues, hath ben egall with all the emperours of Rome, that haue benne, In this vertue of suffraunce, he hath surmounted all them of the wold. He was wont to saye many tymes, I haue not attayned to the emperore, by the sciéces that I haue lerned of the philosophers, but by the pacience, that I haue had with them that were frowarde and not lerned. And this semeth to be true: for oftentymes this Emperour, beyng with the Senate at Collisee, or the Senate with hym in the hygh Capytolle, he saynge in his presence dyuers that praysed hym, and other, that in his absence amonge the people blamed hym, and rebuked hym, his attemperance yet was soo greate, and shewed hym selfe so iuste with one and other, that neyther his frendes, that agreed with him, were soowful, nor his ennemis, for any disfauour, went away complauning and angrye.

COf the feaste that the Romaynes kepte to the god Jano in Rome, and what chaunced to the sayde emperour there. Cap. xvi.

Amonge



Monge the solemn feastes, þ the auncient Romaynes had indented, was one of the god Janus, kept the fy;st day of the yere, whiche as nowe is the fy;ste day of Jani- uer: He was paynted with two faces, to shewe, that it was the laste daye of the yere passed, and the begynnyng of the newe yere. To this god was dedicate a sumptuous temple in Rome, which temple Numa Pöpilius, called it the temple of peace. And except the temple of Jupiter, it was holden in most reuerence of all other. Whan the Romayn empctours went or came to Rome, to vysite the high capitoll, and the vestall byrgins, forthwith they wente to praye, worshyp, and to offe at the temple of Janus. The day of celebrazation of the sayd feaste, all Rome rejoyced, and put on them the beste clothes that they hadde, brennyng great lyghtes in cuerte hous, and made many playes of interludes, of gestes and iuglyng, & watched all nyght in the temples, & delyuered al the prisone- ners that were in prisone for dette, & payde the debtes with the common treasout. They had tables with meate before their doores, in such haboundance, that moxe was left tha- eaten, wherwith all the pooze folkes in Rome were rele- ued. The Romayns thought, that what so euer they spent that daye, that the god Jano (whiche was god of tymes) wolde rewarde them double. The Romaynes sayde, that this god Janus was not vnykynde nor no nygarde, for yf they spente a lyttell, he wolde recompence them with a great deale. At this feaste was made greate processions, euery sorte of people by them selfe, the senate went apart, the p̄tresses aparte, The Censores aparte, the Plebeyens aparte, The matrones and yonge maydens by them selfe, and the ambassadours went in procession with al the cap- tives and prisone. Thus they wente euer two and two:

the ende of one company, was the beginnyng of an other. And thus out of the temple of Janus, they wente aboute all the temples of Rome, and so out of Porte latine into the fieldes, and rounde about the walles of Rome. And bycause the circuite of Rome was greate, the processions went but from one gate to an other, so that towarde night all the processions of Rome had gone euerychone in theyr company aboue: And that done, they retourned all into the temple, that they came out of, and there offred echeone as they myght. And in the sayde processions it was of custome, that the emperours went accompanied with the senatours: but this good emperour was soo famylier, that he wolde honour and accompany euery man. It was accustomed in Rome, that the sayde day the emperour shulde weare on his robe, and mantelle imperiall. And all prisoners and captiues that myght touch hym with their hāde, were deliuered, & al trespassours were pardoned, and banished folke were forgiuen, and called agayn. And this emperour to vse his clemency, and to leaue after hym perpetuall memorie, leste the procession of senatours, and without any gard, went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The whiche doinge, was occasion to leaue behynde hym perpetuall memorie of hym selfe, and greate example of clemencie and lowlynnes to princes for to come. Howe be it there is nothyng so well done of them that be good, but forthwith it shalbe contrarietie of them that be yll: And therfore this example was so moche dispaysed of theym that were yll, as praysed and allowed of theym that were good. And in likewise as among them that be good, there is one noted to be pure good, so amonge them that be yll, there is one noted to be right ylle. And that worse is, that the vertuous person esteineth not the glorie of his vertue so great, as the malitious person by his malice is shamed.

This

This is sayde, bycause there was a senatour in the senate, named Fulvius, whiche was as blacke by his malycie, as whyte by his heates. He laboured soore in the dayes of Lorian to haue ben emperour, and had Marcus always as competitour. And as it is a naturall thyng to theym that haue p̄ll hastes, to shewe they; malycie in smal thynges, so this emperour dyd never no good thyng openly, but this fulvius wolde grudge therat secretely. And though this emperour was greatly praysed for the deliuerynge of pri-soners, yet the sayd senatour coude not haue the prudence for to suffre it, and so part in mockery, and part in erneste, he sayd these wōdes to the emperour in the senate: Whyp̄ gwest thou thy selfe to all men?

Chowe Marcus the emperour aunswereſ a ſenator in the ſenate. Cap. xvi.

The emperour Marcus Auſt hering what the ſenatores had ſaid to him, in the pſence of the ſenatores, p̄ is to wite, wherfore he gaue him to all men, He aunſwered, frende, I giue me to all men, bycause all men giue them to me, and are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer great rigour in a p̄ince, cauſeth hatered of the people. The goddis wyll not, no; the lawes permit not, no; the agreement of the cōmon welthe wyll not suffre, p̄ p̄ncis be lordes ouer many, & to accompany but with a fewe. I haue redde in bookeſ, & haue proued it by my ſelfe, that the loue of ſubiectes, the ſuretie of the p̄ince, the dignitie of the p̄ncipal, and the honour of the ſenate, do conſerue the p̄ince, not with rigour, but with gentyl conuerſation. The fyſher goth not to take dyuers fyſhes of the riuer with one baite, nor p̄ marinet with one nette entred into the ſee. I p̄ompyle you the depenesſe of good

good wylles ought to be wonne with the deuenement of the
 harre, some with gyftes, some with wordes, some with pro-
 myses, and some with fauours. The infiariate covetous
 mea are never content, no; wyl open their affection, but
 locke vp their treasours. And such as serueth for loue, at
 lesse content with openyng of their treasure, than locking
 vp their wylles. It is an olde prouerbe of Pythagoras:
 Loue is payd with other loue. O how pl fortune it is to a
 prince, & how vnhappy it is to a comon welth, whā p peo-
 ple serue not their lordes, but for rewardes, & the lordes to
 kepe & mayntayne them, but for their seruice. With driers
 stones and one ciment, buyldyng is reysed, and of driers
 men, and one lord, is composed a common welthe. And it
 geometrie begle me not, the moxter that ioyneth one stonye
 with an other, ought to be medled with sande and flecked
 lyme by reson. Separate the stones, and the wal openeth,
 and let the ciment fayle, and the edifice falleth. He that is
 wyse, may well vnderstande me. Loue betwene nevbours
 suffereth to be mitigate with water: but hit is requisite,
 that the loue of the p;ince and his people be pure. Dy-
 uers troubles, and acce dyuers tyme, I haue seuen a-
 mong the common people of Ryme in one day moued and
 appeased: but ong discorde, reysed betwene the lordes and
 the common welthe, vnto the death, is never accordeed. It
 is a difficile thinge, to make appoyntment of many with
 many, and moxe difficile, to accorde one with an other.
 But without comparision, moxe harder it is, to appoynt di-
 uers with one, than one with dyuers. And in this case I
 wyl not saue the p;ince, no; leue the people vndeprived.
 Fro whens (as ye thynk) cometh it now adays, that lordis
 with annoyance commaunde vniuste thinges, and in tust
 thinges the subiectes are vnobediente? Nowe here me, &
 I shall tell you. The p;ince doinge a thyng in dede, and

not of right, wyl confounde the wyl of euery manne, and
believe his owne vnderstandyng, and drafte of hym selfe
and all other his only wyl. Contrary wyse, the multitude
of the people dispaysynge they, lordes vnderstandyng,
do as they wyl: not as all wyl, but as euery manne desy-
getteth hym selfe. Of trouth it is a greuous thing, although
it be greatly accustomed, to wyl, that all gounes shulde
be mete for one man, and that one mans harneis shuld be
mete to arme all men. Than what shall we do, that our fa-
thers haue lefte thus in the wold, & also we holde that we
be they, chyldren, and that wylle is, we leaue the same to
our heires. O howe many pryncis of my predecessoures,
I haue redde of, that haue bene loste in shewynge theym
selfe ouer staunge, and beloued of none? I wyl tell you
of somme of them for exaumples, that I haue redde in my
bokes, to thynent that pryncis maye se what theywynne
by amable conuersation, and what they lose by ouermoch
staungenes. In the realme of Assiens, greater in arnes
than the Caldrens, and lesse in aduantage and antiquitie
than the Assiens: One maner forme of kynges endured
amonge them. C. and. x. yeres, by reason they were of
lowlable conuersation. And an other fountaine and maner
(as Homer sayth) lasted but. x. yeres, because their kinges
were of an yll condition. And the. ix. Epiphanes of the
Egiptiens was vnnombed and put downe, because there
was a lawe that echeone shulde be bare legged in the tem-
ples vpon the holp daycs. And this kyng on a day riding
came before the god Apis, god of the Egiptiens, the whi-
che thynge was not suffred, for besyde that he was put out
of his realme, he was chastised. Also the. vi. Arfacidaui
the invincible kyng of Parthes, not onely was deprivued,
but also banished out of his realme, because he dyned at
a knyghtes bydale, and wolde not eate at the bydale of a

I communite

comuner. yet also though the realme of Italy was scane,
 they; hartes were greate : so; bpcause one of they; Mat-
 rancs, so; so were they; kynges called, had shette his ga-
 tes by nyghte, so; to slepe the futeþer, he was depþued of
 his realme : bpcause a lawe was made, that noo þrnce
 shulde shette his gates nyght no; day: so; they sayde, they
 had made him kyng so; to dyyue awaþe they; enempees,
 and not to be daintily nourished. Tarquine the laste kyng
 of the Romayns was vnþynde to his father in lawe, bþt-
 fained his blod and kynde, was a traytour to his coun-
 trey, cruell of his persone, and aduouter with Luctece:
 but so; all that he was not called vngentyll, no; infamed,
 no; traytour, no; cruell, no; aduouter, but he was named
 Tarquine the prowde, bpcause he was of yll condicions
 and complecions. And yet by the lawe of good inenne, I
 swere to you, that yf the sayd vnþappy Tarquine had had
 good wyll in Rome, so; the aduoutry of Luctece he hadde
 not be put out of his realme, so; as moche as oþer great-
 ter and moþe greuous hartes hadde benné doone beþe
 his tyne, and also moche worse sithen by aged emperours
 in the empyre, the whiche cymes by theym commytted
 were suche, that the offence of this trayle yonge man was
 but small in estimation. So; thynge certayne these þyn-
 ces holde, that yf they gyue dyuers occasyons so; they; yll
 wyll, yet a lyttell thynge suffyseth yf he shewe, that the hate
 that he hath is so; none yll wyll: but the hate that the sub-
 iecte hath to the lord, bpcause he hath no powr.

CJulius Cesat, the laste dictatour and syþste emperour,
 bpcause he forgate to be a man among men, but thynkyng
 to be a god amouge goddis, bþyng a lawdable custome,
 that the senate shulde salute the emperour on their knees,
 and the emperour to tyse courteþy agaynst theym: bþ-
 cause of a þesumptuous mind, he wold not keþe the set-
 • monys

monie, he merited to lose his lyfe with xxxiiii. strokes of pen kniues. And as I saue of these so schme a nombre, I maye saue of many other. The phisitions with a lyttell Rubarbe purge many humours of the body, and the emperour with a lyttell beneuolēce taketh many greues fro the stomakes of his subiectes. The people owe obediencie to the p̄ynce, and to do his person great reverencie, and fulfyll his com- maundementes, and the p̄ynce dweth eqall iustice to eue- ry man, and make conuersation to all men.

Marcus Porcius sayde dyuers tymes in Rome: That the publicke welthe is therē perpetuall and without any sodayne falle, wherē the p̄ynce syndeth obediencie, and all the people syndeth loue with the p̄ynce. For of the loue of the lordē, b̄xedeth the good obedyence of the sub- iecte, and of the obediencie of the subiecte b̄xedeth the good loue of the lordē. The emperour of Roine is lyke to a spp- der that is in the myddes of her webbe. For of the sayde coppē webbe be touched with the poynte of a nedell, soþt- with the sppder felēth hit. I meane that all the werkes of the emperour in Roine benne streyghē waye knownen in all the erthe. I beleue that this daye I haue bene iudged of humayne malice, forz accompanayng the processyon of the captiues, and that I suffredde them to towche me, that they myghte enjoy the p̄miledge of libertie.

I yelde and gyue great graces to my goddes of my good happe, bycause they haue made me pitfull forz to deliuer p̄soners, and not cruell as a tyraunte forz to make them bondes that be free. The proverbe sayth: One snare maye take two byþdes: So it hath ben this daye, forz that bene- fytē rebounded onclē to the mysterable p̄soners, but the fauour to all theyz nations. And dooþe not knowe that by the takyng away of theyz prouis, I haue drawnen to me the harts of all theyz realmes and countreys & fynally

hit is more sure to a prince to be serued with free hartes, and loue of them that be at lybertye, than of subiectes constreyned with feare.

Chowe the emperour Maccus deuyded the howres of the daye for the busynesses of the empire. Ca. xviij.

Here before we haue shewyd howe this good emperour had great hatrete of men þ were of yll lyuyng, & that passed theyȝ tyme in yll exerceſe. It suffiseth not the philosopher to reþeue the vice of other by wordes, but it is necessary that he do the werkis that he requyȝeth other to do: It is reason nowe to shewe, how this emperour by his great prudēce compassed & dispatched the great and huge busynesses of the empyre, the particularities of his householde, the recreation of his persone, therexceſe of his ſtudies, the infinite reaſonyng with one and other, with ſuche peyne takyng, and in ſo ſhorte tyme. He was ſoo apte and well aduyſed, that by hym there was no tyme yl ſpent. Noȝ neuer fayled to dispatche the besynes of the empyre. And bycause the tyme is gloriouſ of hym that gloriouſly ſpendeth it, and the tyme is accursed, that to out damage and without profit to other paſſeth, leauyng vs ignorant as brute beaſtes: He departed the tyme by times, the ordre wherof was thus. ſeven howres he ſlepte in the nyghte, and reſted one howre in the daye: At dyner and ſupper he wasted but onely two howres: he deputed two howres for the matters of Afrie: Other two howres for the busynesse of Europe and Afrike: and in conuertation of his house, and with his wifē and chylđen ſervantes and ſcēdes that came to ſe hym, he ſpenue other two howres: And for the outwarde besynelle, as to here the complayntes of theym that

that were grieved. The suytes of poore men wantyng in-
spice, the wydwes, the robynes of pyckers, of mychers,
and vacaboldes, he deputed an other houre. All the reste
of the daye and nyght in redyng of booke, to write wrokes
to make mettes, to studye antiquities, to practyse with
wise men, to dyspute among philosophers, he passed thus
ordinatly in wynter: And in sommer yf cruell warres let-
ted hym not, or that he were troubled with great and hay-
nous matters, he went euer to bed at .ix. of the clocke, and
awoke at .iii. It was of custome that emperours hadde
euer lyghtes brennyng in theyr chaumbre. And therfore
whan he awoke, bycause he wolde not be ydle, he had euer
a booke at his beddes heed. And thus in redyng he spente
the reste of the nyght, tyll it was day. He rose at .vi. of the
clocke, and made hym redy openly, not angrely, but merci-
ly: he wolde demaunde of them that were presente, howe
they had spent all the nyght tyme. And there he wolde re-
herse what he had redde that nyght. Whan he was redye,
he wolde washe his handes with very well smellynge wa-
ters: for he was a great louer of al swete odours. He had
a good and a quycke smellynge. Than in the morwynge
before euery man, he wolde take .iii. oʒ. iiii. morselles of e-
lectuarie of sticados, and two draughtes of Aqua vite.
After that in sommer he wold go forthwith a fote to the ri-
uer side, and there passe the tyne the space of two howres.
And as soone as the heate came, he wolde goo to the hygh
capitoll to the senate. That done he wente to the colledge,
where as all the procurours and ambassadours of all pro-
vinces were, and there he wolde be a greatte parte of the
daye, and here euery nation by hit selfe, accordyng to the
tyme that was deputed by ordre. And towarde the euem-
ynge, he wolde goo to the temple of the virgyns vesta-
les. He eate but ones a daye, and that was somewhat late,

J.iii. and

and thanne he wolde make a good meale, and but of frise
meates. He hadde a custome euery weke in Rome, or other
cities, where as he was, that two dayes late in the eu-
nyng he wolde walke in the stretes without his garde or
knyghtes, only with. x. or. xi. pages, to se if any persone
wolde speake with hym, or complayne of any offycer of his
courte and house, and this he caused to be demaunded of
other men. This good emperour wolde oftentymes saye:
A good pynce that wyll rule and gouerne wel, and not to
be a tyraunte, oughte to doo thus: That is, that he be not
couetous of trybutes, nor proude in his commaundemen-
tes, nor vnykynde to seruyces, nor holde in the temples, nor
defc to here complayntes. In fulfyllynge hereof he shall
haue the goddes in his handes, and the hartes of menne
shalbe his. Al the whyle that this Marke was emperoure,
he had neuer porter at his chaumbre doore, but yf it were
the two-houtes that he was with Faustine his wyfe. This
good emperour had in his house a secrete closette locked
with a key that he bare hym selfe, and neuer trusted none
other therwith to the houre of his death. And than he cō-
maunded to delyuer it to Pompeiano, a prudent ancyent
baron that was maried to his doughter: In the whiche clo-
set he had diuers bokes wryten in all langages, as Greeke,
hebrewe, latyn, and Caldee, and other antike hystories.

The answeare of M. the emperour, whan Faustine his wife
demaunded the key of his study. Cap. xii.



So it is naturall to wome to dispise that thing
that is gyuen them vnaasked, so it is deathe to
them to be deuyed of that they do demaunde.
This emperour had the study or closet of his
house in the mooste secrete place of his palay, wherin he
neyther

neycher suffred his wyfe, servaunt, nor frend to entre. On a day it chanced, that Faustyn thempresse desyred importunly to se that studie, sayenge these wordes: My lord, let me se your secrete chaumber. Beholde I am greate with chylde, and shall dye, yf I see it not. And ye knowe well, that the lawe of the Romaynes is, that nothynge shall be denied to womenne with chylde, of that they desyre. And yf ye doo otherwyse, ye do it in dede, but not of ryghte. For I shall dye with the chylde in my bodye. And more ouer I thynke in my mynde, that ye haue some other louer within your studie. Therfore to put away the peryll of my trauaplyng, and to assure my hatte frome Jealousie, hit is no great thyng to lette me entre into your studye. The empereour sayng that Faustynes wordes were of trouth, & by cause he sawe her wordes washed with wepyng, answered her on this wyse: It is a thyng certayne, whan one is contented, he saythe more with his tongue, than he thynketh with his hatte. And contrary wyse, whan one is heuy, the eyen wepe not so moche, nor the tongue can not declare that is locked in the hart. Layne men with layne wordis shewe and declare theyr layne pleasures: And the wyse men with prudent wordes, dissemble theyr cruel passyons. Amonge wyse men he is wysest, that knoweth moche, and sheweth to knowe but lyttell: And amonge the symple, he is mooste symple, that knoweth but lyttelle, and sheweth hym selfe to knowe moche. They that are prudent, thongh they are demandid, say nothynge: but symple folke wylle speake ynough without askynge of any questyon. This I saye Faustyne, bycause thy wepyng hath soo hurte me, and thy layne speche so tutmented me, that I can not declare that I fele, nor thou canst not sele þ that I saye. Dyuers aduertisementes haue they wryten, that haue wryten of mariage, yet haue they not wryten, how many trauailes that

that one womanne causeth her housbande to suffre in one daye. Of a suretie, it is a toyfull thyng to reioyce in the chyldhode of chyldren, but it is a ryght cruel thyng to suffre the importunitie of theym mothers. The chyldren do nowe and then a thyng that tourmeth vs to pleasure, but ye women do no thyng but gyue vs dyspleasure. I shall agree with all matied men to pardon theym chyldrens pleasures, for the annoyance that the mothers gyue to theym. One thyng I haue sene, the whiche never begyled me, that the iuste goddes doo gyue to the bniuste menne, that all the euyllies that they doo in this woorlde, shall be remytted to the furies of the other woorlde: But yf they doo commytle any sygne for the pleasure of any woman, the goddis commaunde, that by the handes of the same womanne, we shall receyue payne in this woorlde, and not in the other. There is not soo fyres or perillous an ennemie to a manne, as is his wyfe. And though a manne can not lyue with her as a man, I never sawe none soo lyghte, byngyng with a bycuous woman, in doynge byce, but that by the same woman at the last he receyued shame and chasyfement. Of one thyng I am sure, and I saye it not by cause I haue sene it, but experymmented in my selfe, that though the husbande do all that his wyfe wylle, yet wyl she do no thyng that her husband wold haue done. Great crueltie is amounghe the barbariens to holde theym wiues as sclauens: And no lesse madnes is it of Romaynes, to kepe them as ladyes. Fleshe ought not to be soo leane, that it abhorre: nor so fatte that it clope the stomacke: but meane and enterlarded, to the ende that it be sauourye. I saye that a wyse manne canne not gyue so stronge a byrdell to his wyfe, that she wyl obeye as an hande mayden: nor gyue her so lyttell of the byrdell, but she wylle exalte her selfe as maystresse and ruler. Beholde faustyne haue

pe womenne are soo extreme in all heedlonge extremities,
that with a lyttell fauour pe wylle exalte, augemente, and
growe into greate pryde: and with a lyttell dysfauour, pe
recouer greate hatred. There is no parfite loue, where is
no egalite betwene the louers. And as pe and other are
vnperfyte, soo is your loue vnperfyte. I wote well pe vn-
derstante me not. Therfore vnderstante faulstyn, that
I saye moze than ye wene. There is no woman, that with
her wyl wolde suffre any greater than her selfe: nor to
be content too haue an other egall with her. For thoughe
she haue a. M. l. rente, yet she hath x. M. folyes in her
heed. And that worse is, though it chaunce her husbande
to dye, and she lese all her rente, yet endeth not her folyshe-
nes. Herken to me, and I shall tell to you moze. All women
wolde speake, and haue all other to be stylle: they wolde
gouerne, and be gouerned of none other. One thyng they
despye, that is to se, and to be sene. And suche as be lyghte
in folowynge they; lyghtnes, they holde as they; subiec-
tes and sclaues: and suche as be wyse, and reproue they;
appetites, they pursue as enemies. In the annales Poin-
peyens, I haue founde a thyng worthy so; to be knownen,
and that is: Whan Gnce Pompeie passed into the orient
on the mountaynes Rifees he founde a maner of people
called Masagetes, whiche had a lawe, that euery inhaby-
taunt or dweller shuld haue two tonnes or flettes, bycause
there was lacke of houses in the sayde mountaynes: In
one was the husbande, the sonnes and men seruautes:
and in the other the wyfe the doughters and maydens.
On the holy dayes they dydde eate to gether, and ones in
the weke they laye together. Whan great Pompey had
questioned the cause of they; lyuyng in that maner, for
that he never sawe no; knewe a moze extreme thyng in
all the worlde, One of them aunswered: Pompey behold,

E the

the goddis haue gyuer vs but a shorte lyfe, for none of vs
maye lyue aboue. It. yere at the mooste, and those yeres we
trauayle to lyue in peace. And in hauyng our wyues with
vs styl in compaunce, we shulde lyue euer dyenge: for we
shulde passe the nyghtes in hertynge they; complayntes;
and the dayes in suffering they; brawlynges and chydyn-
ges. In kypyng them this wyse from vs apart, they nou-
tyshe they; thyldren more peasibly, eschewyng the noyses
that sleeth the fathres.

Call the Faustyn, that though we cal the **M**asagettes
barbariens, in this case they be wylter than the Romayns.
One thyng I wyl tell you Faustyn, and I pray you marke
it well. If the beastly mouynge of the fleshe enforced not
the wyll of man to do his luste, and that he wolde not de-
lyre women, I doubt whether women wolde suffre it or
loue it the lesse. Of trouth yf the goddis hadde made this
loue voluntarye, as it is naturall, that is as we wolde we
myght, and not as we wold and may not: with great peyn
a man myght be satisfied, though he shuld lose hym selfe
for any woman. It is a great secrete of the goddis, and a
great myserie to man, that the saynte and weke fleshe doth
forre the herre whiche shulde be free, to loue that it abhor-
reth, and to alowe that that damageth. This is a greatt
secrete, that men can fele hit euery houre as men: and yet
by dyscretion may not remedy it. I enuie not the lyuyng
goddis, nor the inenne that be deed, but for two thynges,
and they ben these: The goddis lyue without feare of the
that be malycious, and they that be deed are in peace with
out nede of women. The ayre is so corrupt, that it corrup-
teth euery man with two pestylent plages so deadely, that
the fleshe and the herre endeth. O Faustyne, is the loue of
the fleshe so naturall, that whā the fleshe sleeth scornfully
we shulde leue the true herre as captrue? And the reason
as

as reason put her to flyght, the fleshe as fleshe forthwith
yeldeth her to you as ouercome.

C The emperour reherseth the perylles of them
that haunt women excessively. Cap. x.

Hempcour folowynge his purpose declarereth
the vniuersall damages, that come to man by
ouerinoche conuersation and hauntyng of
women. And after he had tolde some particu-
lat cases that he had suffred with Faustyn his
wyfe, he sayde: I am well remembred, y in my yong age I
folowed the fleshe to moch, with purpose never to returne.
And therfore I cōfesse, yf I had good desyres in one day
in stede therol a M. days I wrougth yll. It is reason that
ye women flee from them that flee from you: to hyde you
from them that hyde them fro you, to leue them that leue
you, to seperate you fro them, that seperate them fro you:
to forgette them that forget you. For some scape fro your
handes yll fained and effeminate: and other are hurt with
pout tonges, many ben persecuted with your werkes, and
the better to scape free, they come awaie abhoxte of your
hartes and bounde to your lyghtnesses. Than who that
feleth this, what getteth he by the attaynyng therof? O
to howe many perylles offerte he hym selfe, that with
women is greatly conuersaunt? If a man loue theym not,
they count hym as a villayne: yf he loue them, they thynke
hym lyghte: yf he leue them, they reput hym for a co-
warde: yf he folowe them, he is losse, yf he serue them, he
is not regarded, yf he serue them not, he shall be hated of
them, yf he wylle haue them, they wylle not haue hym:
yf he despise them not, they wylle seeke on hym: yf he
haunte them, he is ylle named: yf he haunte them not,
they

they recken hym no man. What shall the vnhappy man do? Let men take this so; certayne, that though the husbande do so; his wyfe all that he can do as a man, and that he ought to do as a husbande, and with his weakenes do the beste that he can, so; to synde remedy agaynst pouer-
tie with his trauayle, and put hym selfe in danger so; her euerye houre: all this shall not please his wyfe, no; make her the better, but she wyll saye, that the trayto; loueth other, and that all that he dothe, is onely to accomplayshe his pleasure on them. Many dayes ago Faustyne, I haue wylled to tell the this, but I haue dysferred it till now, ho-
pyng that thou woldest gyue me occasyon to tell it the:
the whiche longe agoo thou haste caused me to feele. It is no poynte of wyfe men, that so; euerye tyme they are an-
noyed with they; wyues, for the with to hurte thepin with
wordes. So; amonge wyse men the sayd wordes are moste
estemed when they are well appropried and sayd to good
purpose. I do bethynke me, that it is. vi. pere syth Antho-
ny Prie thy father dyd chuse me to his sonne in lawe, and
thou me to be thy husbande, and I the so; my wyfe: this
my fatall destynye dyd permitt, at the commaundemente
of Aduan my lord. My father in lawe gaue the his sayle
doughter to me so; wyfe, and the verye sadde and ponde-
rous chynge in mariage. I trowe we were all begyled:
He to take me so; his sonne, and I to chuse the so; my
wyfe. He was named Anthony Pius, bycause he was pi-
tiefull in all thynges, saue unto me, to whome he was cru-
ell, so; in all lytell fleshe he gaue me many bones: and to
say the trouthe, I haue no tethe to gnawe it, no; no heate
in my stomacke to dygeste hit: and manye tymes I haue
thoughte my selfe loste with it. So; thy beautye thou were
desyred of many, but so; thyn puell condicions thou were
abhozed of all. O howe vnhappy ben thy destynies fau-
styne

gyme, and howe yuell haue the goddyns p;oduyded for the
The haue gyuen the beautie and rychesse for to vndo the,
And they haue denped and refusid to the the beste, that is
good condicions, qualitie, & widsome to mayntayne them
I say to the agayn, that the goddyns haue ben very cruelle
to the, sythe they aduised the to the whylepole, wher as
all yll folke peryshe, and haue taken from the, the sayles
and oozes, wherby all good folke escape. The. xxxviii. ye-
eres, that I was without wyfe, seemed not to me. xxxviii.
dayes: and the. vi. yeres that I haue ben maryed, seeme to
me. vi. hundred yeres. I wyll assure the one thyng, that
yf I had knownen before, that I knowe nowe, and had felic
than, that I felte at this houte, I wold say an other thyng
And though the goddes wold commaunde me, and Adrian
my mayster wolde commaunde me, I wolde not chaunge
my pouertie and quyvetnes, for the maryage of the & them-
pye. But I haue desyzed the in thy good fortune, and my
selfe to myn yll fortune. I haue sayde but a lyttle, and
haue suffred a great deale: I haue feyned a great whyle,
but I can feyne no longer. No man suffceth his wyfe soo
moche, but he is bounde to suffre moxe. Leta man, that is
a man consyder, and lykewyse a weman that is a woman
consyder, what boldnes she is of, that quarelethe with
her husbande, and that he is a foole that brawleth openly
with his wyfe. For yf she be good, he ought to fauour her,
that she maye be the better: yf she be a shewe, he must suf-
fre her, that she ware not wors. Every man knoweth, that
all thynges suffre chastyment saue a woman, whiche
(as a woman) wyll be desyzed and p;ayd. Faustyne belue
me, yf feare of the goddis, the shaine of her persone, and
speache of the people, withdrawe not a woman from euyll,
all the chastyment of the worlde wyll not ouercome her.
The harte of man is verye noble, and the harte of a wo-

L. III. man

man is deyntie, and wyl haue great hyre for a lyttel good-
nes, and for moch eynl no chastyment. A wyse man wyl
knowe what he hath to do or he marye. Than yf he deth-
myne hym to take the compaunce of a wyse, he ought to en-
large his herte to receyue all that maye come with her. It
is but a small wyte in a man to sette by the smalle fanta-
sies of his wyfe, or for to chastise openly that may be rygh-
ted betwene them secretly. He that is wyse and wyl lyue
quietly with his wyfe, ought to kepe this rule: admonishe
her often, and reproue her but scidome, and lay no handes
on her. For by other meanes he getteth not fidelitie on her
nor good entreatyng of her, nor good bryngynge vp of
their chyldyn, nor serupce to the goddis, nor any hope of
profyte of her. And thus faustyne I wyll saye no more to
the, but that thou consyder, that I do consyder, and know
that I do se, and that my sufferaunce vñknowen to the,
may suffysse to amende thy lyfe.

C The emperours answere to faustine for that she
sayde, she was with chylde. Cap. xxi.



ewe that I haue opened and put out the olde
venyng, I wyl answere to thy present queshyon
or demande. To thentent that medicines maye
profyte them that be syke, it is necessary to dy-
spoyle the opilations a lettes of the stomake:
Lyke wyse none can counsayle his frende conueniently,
but yf he shewe fyfte his grefe. Thou demaundest of me
the key of my study, and thou thretnest me, that if I gyue
it the not, thou shalte be loste and hurte with thy fruyte; ye
wommenne with chylde haue a good hostage or pledge, for
vnder colour of trauaylyng before your tyme, ye wolde
haue vs fulfylle all your fonde appetytes. Whanne the
holy

holysenate in the vnhappy tyme made a lawe in fauour of
Romayne matrones, they were not so desyrous. Howe I
wote not howe it is, but ye all are anoyed and wety of all
goodnes. And all ye in all pli are desyrous and covetous.
Is facce as I canne rememb're, whan Camyllie made his
vowe to Cybille the mother of goddis, to sende hym victo-
rie in a battayle, whan he had wonne the victorie, Rome
was so pooze, that it hadde neyther golde nor; syluer for to
make the statute of promesse, the matrones than beyng, se-
inge that they; husbandes dyd offre their lyues in the sayd
warre, they granted to p;resent their iewels to the holy se-
nate. It was a metuayllous thyng to see, that withoute
any spekyng to them, or without any mans entysement
they deternyned all togþher to go to the hye capytoll, and
there in the p;resence of every man p;resented they; owches
hangyng at they; eates. The rynges of they; fingers, the
bracelettes of they; armes, the perles from their attires of
their heades, the collers from their neckes, The broches
of they; b;restes, the gy;rdelles absute they; myddels, and
b;orders of they; gownes. And though that they; gyft was
esteined to a great value, yet their good wylles was este-
med a greate deale more. The rychesse that they offered
there was so greate, that there was not all onely enough
to perforne the vowe of the statute, but also to pursewe the
warre. And as than the custome of Rome was, that none
dyd them any pleasure, but he was shorly recompensed: the
same day that the matrones did offre they; ryche and faire
iuelles in the capitolle, there was graunted vnto theym
hyue maner of thynges in the Senate: The fy;ste, that
at they; deathes the oratours shuld preache, publishe, and
shewe they; good lyuyng: The seconde that they shulde
sitt in the temple, wher as before they were wont to stand:
The thy;de, that they shulde were furred & lyned gownes,
where

M A R C V S

where as before they ware none but syngle: The. iii. that in they; diseases they myght drinke wyne, where as before on they; lues they durste drinke none, but water: The. v. that the matrones of Rome great with chylde, shulde not be refused of any thyng that they desyred. These synges for certayne were iustlye and wyllyngely graunted by the senate. And why this lawe that commaundeth to denaye nothyng to a woman with chylde was made, I wyll tell the the occaſon that moued the senate so to do. Fulvius Torquate beynge consull in the warre agaynſt the Volſeos, the knyghtes of Mauritayne broughte to Rome a wylde man, that had but one eye, that they hadde taken in hunteyng in the deserteſ of Egypt. And the matrones of Rome were at that tyme as ſad and honeſte, as they benowe bolde and lyght: ſo was the wyfe of the ſaid Torquate, that was nyghe the tyme of her delyuerance great with chylde, of trouth a woman ſo honeſte, that for the ſobze ſolitarines that ſhe kepte in Rome, ſhe hadde noo leſſe glorie thanne hadde her hufbande in the warris for his wozthynes, the whiche was well proued. For in the. xiiii. yere that Torquate her hufbande was in Afryke a warre fare, the fyſte tyme that he wente thider, ſhe was neuer ſene at the wyndowe lokynge out, and ſhe was not all oucely regarded for that, but in all the ſayde. xiiii. yeres neuer manchylde nor manne aboue the age of. viii. yeres came within her gates. And not contente with this, that ſhe dyd to gyue example to all Rome, and to attayne perpetuall memory, where as ſhe had leſte with her thre ſonnes, the eldest of whome was but thre yeres of age: and as ſoone as they came to. viii. yere, ſhe ſente them out of her houſe to they; grauntfathers. And thus dydde this ex- cellent Romayne lady, to the entente that vnder colour of her owne chyldren there ſhulde none other yonge chyldren entre

entre into her howse. Those yeres passed, after that the good olde man Corquate was retourned fro the warres of the Welshes, the sayde wynde man with one eye wente by the doore of the sayde Corquate, and one of her maydens tolde her, that it was a metuaylous thyng to se: and the good lady hadde great desyre to see hym, and bycause there was none to bryng hym to her, that she myghte see hym, she dyed so; sorowe. And so; certayne thought he came often thonghe by her doore, yet she wolde never goo so; loke out at her wyndowe to se hym. Her deathe was gretly bewayled in Rome, so; she was in Rome most dearely beloued, and good reason: for many dayes afore was no suche womanne brought in Rome. And by the commaundement of the senate, the tenour of this wytunge in bretes were set vpon her sepulchre.

Chere lyeth the gloriouſ matron wife of Corquate, that wolde aduenture her lyfe to assure her good fame.

Cscholde ſancte, this lawe was not made to remedy the death of this matrone, but to the ende that to ſuche as ſe be, and to all the worlde it ſhulde be a perpetuall example of her lyfe, and memorie of her deathe. It was well done to obeyne that lawe ſo; an honest woman being with chylde, that it ſhulde be kepte to all vertuous women. And as women wold, that the lawe of them that be with chylde ſhulde be kepte, ſo by the ſame lawe it is requisite to require that they be honest. In the. vii. table of the lawe it is ſayd: we comande, that where there is corruption of customes, there lyberties ſhal not be kepte.

Chōre tydinges was brought to the emperour, that the Mauntayns wold conqueſt. great 23. cap. xxi.


 At the. lxxij. yere of Marcus the emperours
 sege, and the xvj. yere of his election to
 chempyre, In the moneth of July, as he was
 in the citie of Naples, and not in betyme per-
 syte helthe, for he was soore payned with the
 goute in his foote: there came a Centurion in maner of
 a messenger with great hast, sayeng that in great Bgyptayn
 was sodelynly attayned a great nauye of warre, to the nom-
 bre of. C. a. xxx. shypes of the realme of Mauritain, and the
 quantitie of. xx. M. men of foote, and. ii. M. men of ar-
 mes: and that the kyng of Mauritayns brother was their
 capptayne, named Asclipio, the whiche had taken lande
 at a hauen of the ple called Arpinc, and that to resytle soo
 great a power, there were but a fewe people in the sayde
 ple. The good emperour hevyng these tydylnges, though
 he felte it inwardely as a man, yet he sayned it outwardly
 as a dyscrete man with a sadde countenaunce, and made
 fewe wordes. Than sayng, that busynes myght not be de-
 layed, he sayde these wordes: I wyll go with a fewe peo-
 ple, and do what I can. For better it were with a fewe to
 go betwines, than to tarry so manys and goo to late. And
 soorthwith the good emperour pouerteyed, that all they of
 his palays shulde departe to go to Bgyptayn, and none to
 tarry behynde, to do hym seruice. The custome was, that
 the emperours shulde haue alwaie in theyr houses such
 men as were merte to be sent for the in any busynesses that
 shulde happen for warre. And after that they were shyp-
 ped, there arived one of Bgyptayn, that shewed, howe the
 Mauritayns were retourned, so that none of them was
 lefte in the ple. Than this emperour kepte his house in a
 good poynt. Lyttell occasyon suffyseth to them that be na-
 turally of yll inclynation, to departe and spredeth throught
 countreyss to do hatme: therfore he sent them of his house

to the entent, that by occasyon of the warre, they shuld not
leade an yll ipse. Then the empereour feareyng the dissolu-
tion of his courte, and boldnesse of his officers, to the entent
they shulde not leave vertue and groewe in vice, he de-
termined on a day to call them to hym secretely, and to say
these wordes to them.

CWhat thempereour sayd to them of his courte
in eschewyng p[ro]felnesse. Cap. xxi.

 **T**he greatest sygne in a vertuous man is to do
vertuous werkys, and vertuously to spende
and occupye his tyme: and the greatest signe
of a losse man is to lese his tyme in naughtye
warkes. The greatest happe of all, and the
greatest desire of men is to lyue longe. For dyuers chaun-
ces that fall in shorte tyme may be suffered and remedied
by longe space. Plato sayde: A man that passeth his lyfe
without profyte, as one unworthy to lyue, ought to haue
the rest of his lyfe take from hym. The sythe of secrete
chambres, the synche of the pompe in shypes, no; the o-
dures of cities do not corrupte the ayre so moche, as ydell
folke do the people. And as there is in a man, that occup-
eth his tyme well, no vertue but it increaseth, so in hym,
that occupeth his tyme yle, there is no vpliayne but it is
suspecte in hym. A manne that is alwaye welle occupied,
ought euer to be reputed as good; and the yll manne with
out further enquierie ought to be condemned as noughe.
S[ic] he we men shwe. I disp[ec]te you, what dothe nouys the
corrupte and fowle warkes, the metelles that synge, and
the biers that ryme, but the erthe that is vntilled, and
waten uplyde; and the feldes full of thyfelles, whiche is
not wpeddyng, and wþout ydlyng.

A. L. O Rome

M A R C U S

O Rome without Rome, that now as vnhappy hast but
 onely the name of Rome, bycause thou arte so dere in
 vices, and makest vices good cheape. pea pea, and I shall
 tell the knowest thou wherfore thou arte so: bycause thou
 haste unpeopled the lanes and stretes of wechmen and
 offykers, and haste peopled it all aboute with infinite ha-
 caboundes. I knowe so; trouthe, that the **W**amptes, Wo-
 sigoths, **A**strogoths, and **P**entens spredde in your eccl-
 tories, do you not so moche damage as do these ydell and
 loste people stured in every shopp. All wypers canne not
 deny me, that if al natiōs wold conquere Rome, they coude
 can not take awaie one loope of the walles of it: and these
 ydell people haue troden and pulled vnder they; feete the
 good renome of it. In infallyble rule it is: a man gyuen
 to exercyses is vertuouse, and one gyuen to lewthynges is
 a vicious persone. What a diuine thyng was it to se the di-
 uine woldes of our p̄edecessours, the whiche syth **T**ulli-
 us **H**ostilius, vnto **Q**uintus **C**incinnatus dictatour, and
 syth **C**incinnatus vnto **C**yncinos, whiche were of the **S**pl-
 lang and **M**arians, there was never Consulle at Rome,
 but he coude do some maner of offyce o; occupation, wher-
 with they were occupied whan they; offyce in the **S**enate
 was ended. **R**ome coude paynte pictures o; other flatte
 wōkes. Other coude graue images and poetry in wood
 o; erthe, o; other thynges, o; coulde wōke in syluer, and
 other mettalles: and other redde in scholes: In suche wise
 that the holy senate myght chuse none, but yf he were sy; knownen
 in some maner handycrafte. I do synde in the an-
 nales all that is aboue sapde: and yf Alpe, I do gyue me
 to the flames of **U**ulcan. And there was an ancyent lawe,
 that a myller, a smyth, a baker, o; a popnt maker, myghte
 not be a **S**enatour, bycause men of the sapde occupations
 were commonly taken with decepcōes and gyles. Then re-
 garde

arde the maner and change of tyme, and the corruption
of customes, that, CCC. yeres euery man traupled for
renoume of Rome, & this. bvi. C. yeres euery man slepeth
to the sclander of Rome. Other thynges I fynd in the said
annales worthye of eterne memorye, the people of Rome
hauyng. iiii. perillous warres togynher (yonge Scipio a-
gainst the Deniens, M. Vlcto agaynst the Capens, Metel-
lus agaynst Alexander of Macedonie, and an other Me-
tellus his brother agaynst the Celtiberes of Spayne) the
lawe beyng so soore hepte, that none shulde be taken from
the mysterie and offyce that he occupied, & the senatours
hauyng extreme necessarie of messengers to sende to the
warres, whan the senatours had gone thre dayes aboute
with the censours of Rome, they coulde not fynde one y-
dell man to be sente for the with theyr letters. I wepe for
ioye, that I haue of this antyque felicitie: and I mourne
for compassyon of the mystrie nowe beyng. It is a confu-
sion to say, but I wyll say it: Twenty yeres I had offyce
in the senate, and it is. x. yeres sythe I haue ruled the em-
perre, whiche is. xxx. in all. In the whiche season I sweare
by the goddes immortall, I haue caused to whyppe, caste
in welles, to bury quycke, to hange, to prycke, and to ba-
nyshe mo than. xxx. M. vacabundes, and. x. M. ydell wo-
men. Than what dyffERENCE is there betwene that lyfe and
this deth, that glore and this payne, that golde and this
ordure, that antike Romayne werke and this out presente
inuentyle ydernes of Rome?

CIn the lawes of the Lacedemoiens this was wrytten
in the table of the ydell people: we commaunde as kynges,
we pray as seruautes, we teche as philosophers, and
admonyshe as fathers, that the fachers shall fyfste teache
theyr chyldren to labour the feldes, wherby trauple they
may lyue, and not brought vp in places, wherby ydernes

ther may be lost. And that lawe saþt ferþermore: If the yonge people obþe not as yonge, we wylle that the aȝeþle people do correcte and punyfhe them as aȝed. And in case that the fathers be negligent to commaunde them, or that they be dysobedient: We commaunde the pñce than to be diligent to chaffyse them.

Certainly these wordes are worthy to be noted: wherby Lygurge the kyng deserved eternall memoreþe for his persone, and the sayde realme perpetuall peace in the comon welthe. **O** Rome, what doest thou? Why regardeþ thou not these lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche with theyþ frenþely customes, doþe mocke thy brutall vþces. **S**lepest oþr wakest? **O** Rome thou wakest all the wþlde to leaue swete trauuaples, and slepest in vniuste ydeþnesse. **T**hou art sure of ennemþes, and thou careles art dwonned in slouth and ydeþnes. **T**han syþt that they that bene farre of, lo waken the, thou oughtest to awaken them that thou kepest with the. **I**wolde speake to all them to gyþte of my palayes, and longe ago **I**wylled so to doo, but the multitude of straunge besynnesseþ somtyme causeth a man to forget his owne.

COf the perillous lþuyng of them that haue the courte contynually. Cap. xxiiii.



Han the emperour ioined these wordes to that he had sayd. **M**any thynges I haue sene, and of credyble persones I haue harde, whiche me seemed to be yll, and none of them good. **S**pecially one, whiche offendeth the goddes, slanþeth the wþlde, peruertereth the comon welthe, and endrageth the person selfe: whiche is this cursed slouth, and ydeþnes that destroyeth them that be good, & bitterly bryngeth

to maughe them that be pyl. Somtyme secretly, and
at other tyme openly I haue admouysched and rebuked
theis of you, but I se it prouifte none of you. On one syde
the pukke of reson constayneth me to chastyse you: againe
consyderyng the malycy of manysynde, all though that it
is prompte to pyl, somtyme I am determinyd to suffice
you. At any tyme I wylde with furþe chastyse you as chil-
dren, but I do restrayne it. Consyderyng that ye are younge
men, but as yet knowe not the wiles of the wylde: soþ they holde
iustlycally together the pyl with the yl, & among them make
so great a leage of vices with the vices, that there be many
that do by gyle suffice them selfe to be begyled, and that
when we escape fro a lyttell wyle, and knowe the begyler,
we thynke that we are begyled all redye with other greate
wyles. I haue mercuaylous great compaþyon of you my
seruauntes, speakyng to you as a lord: and to you my
chyldyn speakyng as a fader, soþ to se you al the day and
noght wandryng through Rome as loste persones: and
that moþste of all is, I perceyue that ye doo not perceyue
your owne perdition. What greater beastynes can there
be, than to se you wander lyke folcs from house to house,
fro tauerne to tauerne, from one gasyng to an other, fro
strete to strete, fro place to place, fro playe to playe, fro re-
uellers to reuellers? And that moþre is, that ye knowe not,
what ye desyre, noþ what ye wold, where ye go, noþ whens
ye comyn, what pleaseþ the you, or what dyspleaseth you:
what is prouytable or losse unto you. Soþ ye reme-
mber not, that ye were borne reasonable menne, and that ye
lyue as wylde folke amoung menne, and after shall dye
as bþute beastes. fro whens intentyn that this commeth
The cause is the desyre of beastes mouynges, not resy-
lyng the desyres of the tyme of yowthe, and aboue all
not applyeng your mindes and mylles to be wel occupied.

Take

Take heede amonc you of my counte, and forgette not
 this. Haue ye no thought but to sche newe pastymes, and
 to brenowe euery day. Roman, of what condicione so euer
 he be, excepte he haue feates of armes, or other leynynge,
 in some ordinarie exercysse, shall haue his body lustre and
 his spirite quiche: but shalbe ajoyed in al other thinges
 and wander frome strete to strete, as a vacabounde. The
 batte of man is noble, and hathe power continualy for
 all actes, and all pastymes of the bodey, and yet in these
 dapes it is annoyed of hym selfe alone, so that with hym
 can not rest one laudable exercysse. Lyke as I am emperor
 of all the woldc, so it is reason, and muste nedes be, that
 I haue folke of all nacionis in my palays. And suche as
 the prynce is, such shal be his houscholde: as his house
 is, so shal his courte be: as the courte is, so shal the hō
 ouse be. For this cause a kyng ought to be ryghte ho
 nestie: his house well ordered and ruled, his officers well
 lerned, and his courte well kepte in awe. Of my good lyf
 dependeth their good lyues, and consequently the yll lyues.
 Every nation lerneth in they; particuler scoles, The Sy
 riens in Babylon: the Persians in Dorkes: the Indiens
 in Olympe: the Caldees in Thebes: the Greces in Itho
 nes: the Hebrewes in Helye: the Latines in Samie: the
 frenche men in Dylance, the Spaniardes in Gades: and
 they all togyther in Rome. The vnuersall scole of all the
 woldc is the persone, the house, and courte of a prynce.
 As we emperours do say, the same wyll our subiectes say:
 as we do, they wyll do: that we forsake they wyll leaue:
 yf we lese our selfes, they wyll lose them selues: yf we wyn,
 they wyllwynne: and fynally our welth is they; welth, and
 our harme is they; harme. Truly the prynce is bounde to
 kepe his owne persone honestip and well besene, his hous
 and courte so well ruled, that all they that shall se it, maye
 haue

haue despise to folowe and do therafter: and that all they,
that here therof, may despise to se it. Take ye heede, and let
vs take heede: haue ye in mynde, and let vs haue in mynde,
that they, which be of strange landes, going throught through straige
landes into strange landes, by they; great crauayles com-
myng to haue and demaunde succour and remedie of vs,
may haue no cause to reprete any scander of our yl custo-
mes. What thing more monstrosous can be noysed among
men, than that they shold come and complayne of the the-
ues of they; countreyes, to the theues of my countre. What
greater shame and inconuenience can be, than to demand
Justyce of they; mensleers, of the mankyllers of my countre
and house. What crucitie were so cruel, as to complayne
of the vagaboundes of they; landes, to the slouthfull and
pocell folke of my house? What thyng can be more shame-
full, than to come to accuse theym that haue sayde yle of
emperors, before them that euery day blasphemie the god-
dis? What thyng can be more inhumayne, than to come
to aske iustyce on hym, that hath transgressed but ones, of
them that never dyd good warres? Truly in such case
the poore men shulde retouche with they; ignorance begy-
led, and we shulde tarye with out cruell malycie shamed of
men, and culpable before god. Howe many small mat-
ters do we chastyse in men of small reputation, which with-
out brekyng of Justyce we myght forbeare, and howe
many great thynges to the goddis Justice in the hyc pyn-
nes and lodes, the whiche nor without Justyce, they maye
grovously punysh: And by that cruell men as cruell, can
pardon no thyng: and the goddis pitiefull scantely wyll
chastyse anye thyng: yet so; alldis, I wolle that none
soulde deceyue hym selfe, for though the goddis forbeare
they; iniuries, yet they leane theym not unpunyshed, by
straunge Justyce. The goddis ben in their chalencementes

as he that giveth a blowe to an other, the herte that he lyseth his hande, the greater is the stroke on the cheke. By semblable wylle, the moyses that they forbare out sinnes, the more afterwarde do they herte vs with peynes. Truly I haue seene the goddis dypuets synnes to dypuets persones forbeare dypuets synnes a greate whyle, but at the laste I haue seene thepm all unwaeres chastyfed with one chastyfement.

Con the empetour wylde haue them of his couerte to lyue. Capi. xxi.

Sache that the goddis haue ordyned, and my tall destenies haue perempted, that I shulde be chosen empetour (not so flourfull) I haue laboured all that I myghte, to wpsyte the Emperore: ye lytell yonge folkes that are here, were givene to me of your fathers, for to nouryshe you in my palayes. And for you that are bygger, I was desyred to receiue you, in hope to haue gyfes and remades, and other I dydde chuse to do my seruice. The intention of the fathers, whi they bryngyng theyr chyldyn to the court of pryncis, is to put theym from dalyance of theyr frendes, and bryslyng them from the wantonnes of theyr mochters. And me seemeth it is well done, for the chyldyn from theyr yonghe ought to gyue theym selfe to traวยle, wherby they ought to lyue and resyste the discouert and failes of fortune. ye are not come from poure counteys to lerne the bytes of Rome, but to lerne many good maners that are in Rome, and leaue the yll maners of your landes. All that doo not this, and forfiske traวยle: gyue theym selfe to very pdesesse. The mysterable Rome hathc moxe mede of laboures for to labour, than of lordes and habytantes, patricians, that wyl

wyl but passe the tyme in teste and pleasures. I sweare to
 you, that not for weryng the armes with the crafte of we-
 upnyng, and the syngers with spinning, the bordell houses
 nowe a dayes are fuller of ydell women, than the churches
 of good preches. And I sweare agayne, that easelver maye
 be founde. r. 23. yll women in Rome to serue in pleasur of
 byces, than. r. 23. good menne to serue in the churches. I
 praye you, who liceth the marchantes in hys wayes? Who
 dyspoyleth wayfaryng men and pylgrimes on the moun-
 taynes? who pyketh the lockes and breketh honest mennes
 doxes and wymbolnes? who robbe by strengthe the chur-
 ches? but these lewde ynglyng theves, whiche wyl not labour
 by day, but dispose them to robbe by night. O Rome, what
 barries come to the for one onely cupill? Who hath fylled
 Italy so full of luste people, the palayes so full of vnable
 persones, the mounaynes so full of theves, the tauernes
 so full of yll women, and evry place so full of bacabudes?
 but one, the canker of ydeines and slouthe, whiche deiteth
 perte the good custome more than the wades and waters
 thynge olde wome walles. Belike me sone thyng, for I
 wote that I say trouth therin, that the crafte of weauyng,
 wherin all the naughte bilanys are wounen and wrought,
 and the seide of all unhappi byces, the sydynge of all
 goodnessse, the fallyng of all theym that be cupill, and the
 alwayng and pronayng of all these, is but this foule
 byce of louthe and ydeines. And more ouer I saye, that
 there is no byce amonge all byces, that doth so great a
 syre, and causeth soo contynually a spesnesse of lepe a-
 monge aaged folke, and that pente the good folke in soo
 great peryll, and doth so moche damage to theym that
 be cupill, as doth ydeines. Who is it, that causeth sedition
 amonge the people, and sciaundre in Realmes, but they
 that reule and do wothyng: bycause they wolle eate the
 23.11. foode

foode gotten by sweat of them that laboure who is it, that
 syndeth newe inuencions of tributes and foraphe exacti-
 ons, but pdell men, the whiche bycause they wyl not wroke
 with they; handes, synde p;rofytte with infinite extactions?
 who maketh discetion betwene neyghbors but pdell folke?
 they deuide they; p;lis amonge they; neyghbours, bycause
 they occuppe not they; so;ces in good wrokes, no; retayne
 they; tongues to clatter of other mens lyues? who imagi-
 neth in these dayes so many maltoes in Rome, the whiche
 was never harde of our fathers, no; redde in oure booke?
 but vacabundes, that neyther apply no; settte they; wyttes
 about nothyng eis, but thynke howe to endomage other.
 The empetour that coulde banyshe all these pdell persons
 out of his empyre, myght well auant hym selfe to haue op-
 pressed all the vices of the wrold. I wolde it pleased the
 immortall goddis, that of so many triumphes, that I haue
 hadde of straungers, occupied in good exercyces, that I
 hadde sene one of the vacabundes of Rome drapan out of
 all houses. There was an auncient lawe, none myghte be
 taken and receyued for a citisen in Rome, but he were fy;ll
 examined by the Censure. In the tyme of Cato Censorius
 when any wolde be a citisen of Rome, this examination
 was made of hym: He was not demaunded, of whens he
 was, no; what he was, no; whens he came, no; wherfor
 he came, no; of what kynde of auncient strocke he came: but
 only they toke his handes betwene they;is, and ys they felte
 them softe and smothe, forthwith as an pdell vacabunde
 man they dyspatched and sent hym awaie: ys they founde
 his handes harde and full of hard knottes, by and by they
 amytted hym a citizen and dweller in Rome. Also when
 any officers toke any p;il dores, & put them in p;ison, that
 was called Matmotine, in stede of information, the fy;ll
 thyng that they toke heire of, was they; handes, whiche

of they had bene as a labouertes handes, and a work man,
though his crame were greuous, yet his chastyment was
mitigate, and more easie: and of the unhappy prysoner
chched to haue ydel handes, for a lyttel faute he shuld haue
sharp punishment. It hath ben an olde sayenge: He that
hath good handes, muste nedes haue good customes. I
say, I chastyfed never a labouryng man, but I was sorwe
for it: no; I never caused to whyppe a vacabunde, but I
was gladd of it. I wyl tell you moe of this Catho Cen-
sus, whiche was greatly feared. For euen as chyldren
in the scholes, heynge they; mayster commynge in, tenne
to they; bokes, so when Catho went through the stetes
of Rome, every body went to they; worke. O righte happy
baron, before whom the people feared more to be ydel, than
to be yll before any other. Than beholde ye at this houte,
what force vertue hathe, and howe valiaunte a vertuous
man is, saynge that all the worlde feared Rome onely, for
her woxthynnes in armes: and all Rome feared Catho, one-
ly for his vertues. The aduentures of men are so dypuers,
and the suspecte fortune gyueth so many ouerthwart tur-
nes, that after that a great space she hathe gyuen greate
pleasures, incontinent we are cyted to her subtyll traua-
les of repentaunce. O happy Catho Censorine, who with
suche as haue folowed his wayes, are nowe sure fro the a-
batementes of fortune. Than he that wyl haue glorie in
this lyfe, and attayne glorie after deathe, and be beloued
of many, and feared of all: lette hym be vertuous in do-
yng of good wokes, and deceyue no manne with bayne
woordes. I sweare vnto you by the lawe of a man of wo-
shyppe, that of the goddes wilde accomplyshe my desyre,
I had rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that
he vised in Rome, than to be Scipio, with the abundance
of blode, that he shedde in Afrike: All we knoewe well, that

99.iii. Scipio

Scipio habbe a great fame in beatyngе dofne of cities,
 and cuttyngе innocentes thotes, and Catbo hath atta-
 ued eternall memoie in reformyng the people, pardonyng
 trespassours, and teachynge ignorant folke. Then ye may
 all see, yf I haue not good reason, more to despise to be Ca-
 to, to the p̄ofyte of many, than to be Scipio, to the p̄em-
 dyce of so many. Lo my frendes, these wordes I haue said
 bycause ye may see, that our p̄edecessours, somme in their
 owne londes, other in strange landes, some beynge p̄onge,
 and some olde, in theyz tymes had glo;pe in theyz persons,
 so; them selfe: and so; the wōlde to come haue left no leſſ
 memo;pe so; theyz successors and offsp;ngue. And we do
 all the contrary, I bcyngē emperour am lothe so; to com-
 mande any p̄ll, and our offycers so; theyz interest do wōk,
 And where as we are set in dyuers pleasures by our dyngē,
 we fall houerly into dyuers myseries, and are noted to our
 great infamy. By the whiche occasyon the iust goddes so;
 our vniuste wōkkes, gyuynge iustis sentence, commaundē
 that we lyue with suspition, dyc with shame, and to be
 huttid with for;getfulnes, neuer to be hadde in memo;pe.
 Then you of my courte take good hede, and p̄pnte well
 my wordes in your myndes: so; who so cuer I se o; synde
 ydell from hensforth, I discharge hym out of my seruice,
 ye that be lerned may w̄pte and rede, ye that be men of ar-
 mes and knyghtes, exercyse pou in feates of warre, ye that
 be officers, occupye you in your offyces. And take this so;
 certayne, that yf ye take not this so; a warnynge and mo-
 nition, that I haue gyuen you betwene you and me, the
 punyshementes that I shall gyue unto you, shall be open-
 ly. And to the entente that ye haue it better in your memo-
 rie, and to be a doctrine to prynces hereafter to come,
 this present practise and remonstance I haue w̄itten in
 all tongues, and set it in the byght Capitoll with manye
 other

get of my wypynge. The goddis be kepers of you,
so also they defende and kepe me from yll fortunes and
ysaduentures.

COf a mischayprous and fearefull monstre, that
was scene in Sicile, and of his wyp-
tynges. Capi. xxvi.

At the yere of the foundation of Rome
vii. C. x. and. xli. of the aere of Mar-
cus the empereour, and. ii. yeres before
he toke possessyon of the empre, the xx.
day of the month Sexillis, whiche now
is called Auguste, about the tyme of the
sonne setynge, in the realme of Sicil,
than called Trinacrie, in a citie called Bellyne, on the see
now named Palerm, a port of the se, there chaced a thing
right perillous to them that sawe it, and no leste fearefull
to them that shall here it noise. As ther of Bellyne or Pal-
erm were then celebryng a feaste with great ioye: for
the gladnes that their pyrates had overcome the armie of
the Numidiens, and had taken. x. of they; shypes, & caftes
xxii. persones into the see, bcause at that tyme they werc
enempes eche to other, and so; the yll wokes they dydde,
were shewed the great passynges, that passed amonge them.
And as it is the custome, the thyng that these pyrates
get on the see, ther depane it amonge them all, whan they
come houre. And whan they comme to lande, ther spende
that meryly, that ther gatte with greate strauple. It is
a thyng well to be noted, howe all good and ylle hertes
are applyed: The good men haue greate desyre to ther
trumphes, and couetous men to ther iucte & wypynge.
Thus

Thus men ought to be beloued, though shortly after they ought to be abhorred. And also they ought to be abhorred, as though shortly after they ought to be beloued. Thus than the gouernours of the sayde cytie, commaunded all the sayde shypes to be sequestred into they; owne handes, to the intent, that they shulde not be sold, nor the conueytous people to haue the aduaantage in the byenge of them. The cause was, for the custome of the menne of the yles was, that all thynges shulde be kepte togyther, vnto the ende of the warre, or at leasche tyll they had peace. This was a iuste lawe: for many tymes is made fidefaile appoyntementes betwene great enmyes, and not all only for the auncient hater, but also for lacke of rychedesse to satisfye the presente domages. Channe as all the people were withdrawen into they; houses aboute sumptyme, for it was sommer, sodenly there came a monster into the myddes of the citie, after this shape: He seemed to be of two cubytes of heyghte, and he had but one eye, his head was all pyld, so that his scul'nyghte be sene: He had none eates, but that a lyttell of his necke was open, whereby it seemed he had: He hadde two crooked hornes as a gote: His ryght arme was longer than the lefste, his handes were lyke hys fete, he had no throte, his necke was egall with his head: his sholders shone as pycche, his breste and stomache was all rough of heare, his face was lyke a man, sause it hadde but one eye in the myddes of his boþe head, and had but one nosethyll, from the waste downwarde he was not sene, for it was couered, he satte on a chariot with. iiiii. wheles, wherat were two lyons fastened togyther before, and two bearers behynde: and it coulde not be determined, wherof the chariotte was made, but there was no dyffERENCE in facion theron, and other that were vised connyngipe: In the myddes of the sayde chariotte was a caudzon lyke a table with

with two eares, wherin the sayde monster was: and ther-
fore it was sene but fro the gyrdelde upwarde. He wente
about in the citie fro gate to gate a long space castyng out
spicles of fyre. The feare was so great, that dyuers wo-
men with chylde were deluyered with great peryll, and o-
ther that were weake hasted fell in a swoone. And all the
people great and smalle, lesse and more, ranne to the tem-
ples of Jupiter, Mars, and Phabus, makynge importu-
natecties and clamours. And the same season all the sayd
pyrates were lodged in the gouernours playes named
Solyn. He was of the nacion of Capue, and there was
all the rychesse kepte. And whan this monster had bene o-
ut all the cytie with his chariot, than the lyons and bea-
tes broughe hym to the palays, where the pyrates were,
and beyng very nyght to the gates that were faste closed,
the monster cut an eare of one of the lyons, and with the
bloode therof he wrote these letters. R. I. S. P. J. P.
These letters were a profe to all theym of hyghe spirite, to
gyue declaration of them: and there were mo declarations
then there were letters. But finally a woman diuineresse,
or contrary a soothsayer, that was had in great reputation
for her craftes, made the very declaration of the sayde let-
ters, sayenge thus. R. reddite. I. aliena. S. si vultis. P.
propria. J. in pace. P. possidete. Whiche all togyther is
to saye, Render that perteyneth to other, ys that ye wylle
in peace possesse your owne. Surely the pyrates were
soore affrayde of that dredfull commaundement: and the
woman was greatly praysed for her high declaration. Than
forthe with the same nyght the monster wente into a hyghe
mountayne called as than Janitia, and there by the space
of thre days was in the syghte of all the citie: and in that
season the lyons made great royng and howlyng, and
the beares and monster balle out greate scaresfull flames.

R. And

And all that season there neyther appered hym in the ayre,
nor beaste in the feldes, and all the men offred great sacrefi-
fices to the goddes, in suche wyse that they brake the vey-
nes of theyr handes and fete, and offred theyr blode, to se if
they myghte appease theyr goddes. After the thre days pas-
sed, sodenly appered a cloude blacke and decke vpon the
erthe, and it began to thunder and lyghten, with a greate
erthequake, so that many howses fell in the citie, and ma-
ny of the dwellers and citelins dyed. And than sodeynly
there came a flame of fyre frome the monster, and brennt all
the palays, where the sayde Pyrates were, and the ryches-
ses that were in it, so that all was consumed in it, yea the
very stones: and the doinage was so greate, that there fell
mo then. ii. M. houses. And there dyed as good as. x. M.
persons. And in the same place on the toppe of the moun-
tayne, where as the monster was, thererout comauanded to
edifie a temple to the god Jupytet in memore of the same.
Of the whiche temple thererout Alexander, hauyng
warre with them of the cealme, made a stonge castell.

CWhat befell to a citel in Rome in the tyme of
this emperour Marcus. Cap. xxvi.



He same tyme that this aduenture chaunced
in that Isle, there was dwellynge in the same
cytie a Romayne named Anthygone, a lord of
noble bloude, and somewhat ralred in age:
and about two yere before, he, his wyfe, and
a doughter of his were banysched Rome, and not his son-
nes. The occasyon was, There was an auncient laudable
costume, sith Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, that two of
the auncient senatours togidher shulde goo with the cen-
ture newly created, and the olde, in the month of Decembre
for

for to visite all Rome: and they to call every Romayne a-
parte alone, shewynge hym the. xiij. tables of they; lawes
and particular deccres of the senate, demandynge of them
if they knewe any neyghboure in they; quartre, that hadde
broken these lawes. And yf they dyd, it shulde be informed
to the seuate. And there all togyther to ordene punylshe-
ment, accordyng to the dyuersite of the fautes that they
hadde commytted. But the fautes commytted that p̄e-
sente pere, they myght not chastise, but to aduertise them
to amende afterwarde. And all suche as were ones war-
ned, and in the nexte visitation founde sylly unamended,
to be gretuously punished, and sountyme banished. These
were the wordes of the lawe in the. v. table and thy;de cha-
pter: It is ordyned by the holy senate, by consente of blis-
full men, receyuyng the auncient colonies, that if men be-
yng men in one pere do trespass, the men as me for the said
pere shall dissimule and forbeare: but yf they that be yll as
yll do not amende, they that be good, as good shal chastise
them. Also the sayd lawe sayth, the fy;st fautes are suffred,
bycause they ar commytted with wreake ignorac: but yf they
cotynue them, þ they be chastysed, bycause they; yll cometh
of slouth and malycie. This inquisition was euer made in
the monethe of Decembre, bycause that soone after in the
monthe of Janiuer the offyces of Rome were dyuided. And
it was reason, that they shuld knowe to whome they shuld
gve or denye they; dygnities: to thentent that good shuld
not be chosen in stede of yll, no; the yl in stede of good. The
p̄ticular cause why they banished the man & his wyfe with
they; daughter was this: The seconde emperour of Rome
August ordeneid, that none shuld be so hardy to pys at any
dores of the temples: and Caligula the. iiiij. emperour com-
manded, that no woman shuld gyue any cedules to hange
about the peoples necke, to heale the feuer quartayne.

J.ii.

Ind

And Cato Censorine made a lawe, that no yonge man nor
 yonge mayden shulde speke togyther at the conduites or
 welles, where they fetched water, nor at the ryuer, where
 they washed theyr clothes, nor at the ouens where they ba-
 ked breadde, bycause all the yonge poeple of Rome that
 were wyld and wanton, ranne euer thyder. So it befell,
 that as the censures and consules vsited the quatter cal-
 led mount Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus
 accused, that he was sene pessyng agaynst the temple wall
 of Mars: and his wyfe was accused, that she hadde sold
 cedulae for feuer quartaynes: and lykewyse his doughter
 was accused, that she was sene at the conduytes, ryuers, &
 ouens, spekyng and laughyng with yonge men of Rome.
 The whiche was a great shame to the maydens of Rome.
 Then the censures seynge the yll order, that they had founid
 in the house of the sayde Anthypgone by the regesters, by
 due examination, beyng warned also, they were banyshed
 into the ples of Cycyll, for as longe as it shulde please the
 senate. And lyke as in edifices, sumptuouse and of greate
 estimation, one stune is not decapde or wrythed out with-
 out shakynge or mouynge of an other: euen lykewyse
 is it in the chaunces of men. For commonly one vnhap-
 pynes chaunceth not, but an other folowed. And I saye
 this bycause Anthypgone loste not onely his honour and
 welthe, but also he was banyshed, and besyde that by the
 treinblyng of the erthe his house fell downe, and slerte
 welbeloued doughter of his. And all the whyle that this
 was done at Rome, & that that befell of the monster in Ci-
 cile, Marke the emperour was in the warres agaynst the
 Atrogons, and there he receyued a letter frome Anthypgone,
 wherin was rehersed his banysshynge, wherof the Empe-
 rour hadde great compassyon, and to conforte hym, sente
 hym an other letter.

COf a great pestylence that was In Italy in this
emperours tyme. Cap. xxviii.

Hue yere after the deathe of Anthony the meke, father in law to Marcus Aurielius, and fathet to Faustyne, therre felle a pestylence in Italy, and it was one of the. v. greate pestylences amonge the Romayne people. This mortalitie dured the space of two yeres, and it was bnyversall thorough out all Italy, to the great damage and feare of all the Romains: for they thought that the goddes wold haue destroyed them, for some dyspleasure that they had done agaist them. Therre dyed so mayn, as well of great estat, as ryche and poore, greate and small, yong and olde, that the wryters had leste traunyle to wryte the small nombre of them that were lefte aliue, than to wryte the multytude of them that were dead. Lyke as whan a great buyldyng wyl falle, fyft there falleth some stone: In lyke wylle the Romayns neuert had no great pestylence in theyr tyme, but byt they were threatened with some token, signe or prodigie fro heuen. Two yere before that Haniball entred into Italy, in an euening, whan the wether was cleare and fayne, sodainely it rayned bloudde and mylke in Rome. And it was declared by a woman, that the blode betokened cruell warre, and the mylke a mortall pestylence. Whan Scilla retourned from Champayne, to put Marius his ennemy out of Rome, his meyne of warre and knyghtes sawe in a myght a fountayne that ranne bloudde, and who soe euer was bathed therin, semed to be yponsoned with wenyme. Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that of. ii. C. and. i. M. dwelers in Rome, what with theym that dyed with the swerde, and other consumed by pestylence, were consumed with Scilla, and of them that fledde with Marius, of the

A.iii. sayd

sayde great multitude of Romaynes, there abode alwe no
 mo but. xi. 99 persones. Certaynly Rome neuert receyued
 so great damage in. vi. C. yeres before, as theyd dydde by
 they; owne propre people. All the tyrantes were never so
 cruell agaynst strange landes, as the Romayns were than
 agaynst they; owne propre landis. And this seemeth to be
 true, bycause the same day þ Scylla passed throughe Rome
 with his bloody swerde, a capitayn of his sayd to hym: Sir
 Scylla, yf we sicc them that beare armour in the feldes, &
 them that bere no armour in they; houses, with whom shal
 we lyue? I coniure the by the hye goddis, syth we be boþe
 of wemen, let vs not flee the women: and syth we be men,
 lette vs not flee the men. Thou thynkest that in slaynge al
 the Romaynes, to make a common welth of beastis of the
 mountaynes. Thou entrest with a crye to defende the com
 mon welthe, and to put out the tyrantes that distroye the
 common welthe, and we do remayne tyrantes out felues.
 To myn understandyng that captyayn merited as great
 glorie for the good wordes that he spake, as Scylla dydde
 incrite chastyment for the cruytialtie that he dyd. This we
 haue said, bycause that cre suche damages dyd falle, there
 appered before certayne prodiges and tokenes. No lessse
 token was shewed before the mortalitie that fel in the tyme
 of this good emperour, the whiche was a fearefull thyng.
 The case was so: On a daye as the emperour was at the te
 ple of the virgins Westales, sodaynly there entred in two
 bogges, and ranne aboue his fete, and there fel downe
 deed. And on an other daye as he came from the hysgh Ca
 pitoll, for to haue gone oute at the gate Malarie, he sawe
 two kytes ioynyng togidher with they; talantes: and so
 fel downe deed at the emperours fete. And within a sherte
 whyle oþ season after, as the sayde emperour came fro hunc
 tyng, his houndes rennyng at a wyde beaste, as he gaue
 two

to gryphonnes that he loued well, water to dynke with
is owne handes, sodenly they fell downe deede at his fete.
Than he remembryng the swyne, the kytes, and the gry-
phonnes deede so sodeynly, he was greatly dismayed, and
assembled all his priestes magicians, and diuines, deman-
yng what they sayde to the prodigies. And they by those
dynges passed, iudged the deede present, and determined,
that within two yeres the goddis wolde sende great a gre-
uous punyshementes to Rome. Than within a shorþ while
after there began a warre agaynst the Parthes, whereby
there fel the yere after great famyn and pestylence amoung
the Romains. This pestilence came with sores vnder the
armes pictures, so that all the senate fledde away, and the em-
perour alone abode styll in the capytoll. Than the ayre be-
gan to be so corrupt, that though he scaped the pestylence,
yet he was vexed with hote feuers. Wherefore he was fayn
to leue Rome, and wente into Champayne: and fynally in
the citie of Maples he made his abode duryng the tyme
that the pestilence was in Rome.

Chow Mar. answered his phisitions that wolde
hauie hym leauie his studie. Cap. ccx.

 He emperour beyng in the capteynie of Ma-
ples, where as oþer soughe pastyme to con-
serue theyr lyues, this emperour occupied hym
selfe in his bookes to augment scrence. A man
conde do hym no better seruice, than to seke to
gette hym a newe booke: not suche as was wryten in his
tyme, but such as were forgotten for age. This emperour
was not onely a louer of olde and antyke bookes, but also
of auncient stories, and set very great shooþ by them.
And he thus beyng in the capteynie syche and deppell at ease,
there

there was brought to hym out of a citie of Asia called Ha-
lia, by certayne Hebrewes, a boke wryten in Hebrewe: & he
toke suche pleasure in that boke, that ofte tymes he wolde
leue his meate and goo to study: and so; all that he was
in his hote feuer, he wolde not leue to rede, so; all that
his phisitiers waned hym, and his frendes prayde hym;
and they that were about hym, counsayled hym, and de-
manded hym, why he leste to procure the heiche of his per-
sone in so moche redyng. He aunswered: By the goddes
that we honour I coniure you, and so; the frendshyp that
is betwene vs, I praye you lette me alone, ye knowe well,
that suche as are of a delycate bloode, haue not soo moche
solicitude as the rustycall people, that haue hard synewes
and be of a moxe harder complexion. Lyke maner theye
clere vnderstandinge haue nede of other medicynes, and
to be heled with other syropes thā they of grosse vnderstan-
dyng. This is the dysferece that I haue of eyther of them.
The pdeore keþeþ dyete from bookes, and resteth on his
meate, and the wyse man abhorreth meate, and dwalþ
hym to his bookes. If they knewe that knewe not, what
thyng knowledge is, I swaþe to you they shulde see what
auaileþ moxe the lyttel knowledge that a lyþe man hath,
than the greatte ryches of the ryche man. So; the mysera-
ble ryche persone, the moxe that he encreaseth in rychesse,
the moxe he diminuþeth in frendes, and groweth in enne-
myes to his damage. And he that is wytte, the wþer that
he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good, and
feared of them that be ill for his wþytte. One of the thy-
nges, wherin I holde my selue moste bounde to the goddes
in this, that they haue caused me to compas the tyne as
I haue done, the whiche is not lyttel gyft for a man to lyu
in this worlde. I saye it is, bycause I haue had great com-
passyon of the poore, that be very poore, of wþdowes, of
them

them that be sorowfull and vnhappy, and of Draphelins. But without comparison, I haue had greatest compas-
sion of them, that lacke knowlege. For the goddis, making
menne ingnoiaunt by naturalicie, myght haue made them
goddis by connynge and knowledge: and as the flouthe-
full men are tamed and made lesse than men, by theyz ne-
gigence, so certaynly blessed is he, that is not contente to
be a man, but þe he procure to be moze than a man, by his
vertue. And cursed is that man, that knoweth not to be a
man, but maketh hym selfe lesse than a man by his wyce.
By the iugement of al philosophers, there is but one, that
is the fyfth cause, whiche is one god immortall, and if there
be dyuers goddes in the heuens, it is bycause there are di-
uers vertues in the erthe. And in the worlde, that is pasche,
whan the symple men were seruauntes and bonde menne,
and the good men rulers and gouernours, they were then
so esteemed, bycause they were knownen and renowned for
theyz good vertues in theyz lyfe. Soo that they were hol-
den and reputed as goddis after theyz deathe. This is the
tyghte rewarde, that commeth of vertue. It is a thynge
consonaunt to reason, that they that be good amoung
many þil in this lyfe, shulde be greatly honoured amoung
the goddis after theyz deathe. ye are not well content with
me, bycause I am alwaye redyng: but I am wrose con-
tent with you, bycause I neuer le bok in your handes: ye
thynke it great trauayle, to a sycke man, to rede, and I re-
pute it a very peryllous thynge, for a hole manne, to teste
and be þidle. ye say, my redyng is cause of my feuer quar-
ayne in my fleshe: and I saye, that ydeinesse engendreth
great pestilence. Myþ I may profyte by my bokes, let no
man haue compasyon of my trauayle. For I desyre rather
to dye as a wyle person, among wylc men, than to lyue ig-
norantly amoung menne. I demaunde one thynge of you:

D

A man

a man, presuynynge to be a man, and is not lerned, what dyl-
 ference is betwene hym and other beastes. Certaynly, the
 beastes are more profytalbe to labour the erthe, than sym-
 ple persons be, to serue the common welthe. A poore ore gy-
 ueth his skynne to make shone, his flesche to be eaten, and
 his strength to labour: and a poore symple shepe doth prof-
 fite, his flece and woll to make clothe, & his mylke to make
 cheeze. But what profyteth a folishe ideote man? Nothyng,
 but offendeth the goddes, sclaundreth innocentes, eateth
 the breaude of other, and is chiefe heed of vacabundes. Of
 trouth yf it lay in my handes to do, I had rather giue lyfe
 to a symple ore, that to a malicpous ideote. So; the beast is-
 ueth, fo; the vrilitate of dypuers, without doynge damage to
 any other: and the symple ideot man liueth, to the damage
 of all other, and without profyte to any persone. Therfore
 thynke well, why I am not pleased with theym that be ig-
 no;raunt, and loue theym that be lerned. Marke syng, what
 I shall shewe you: That man semeth good, that is meane
 and gentyll of condition, softe in wordes, and testfulle in
 his persone, and gracuous in conuersacion. And contrary
 wylle, that personne soore displeaseth me, that is shatpe of
 wordes, soore moued in his warkes, ryottous in his con-
 dicion, and double of his promyse, and hatte hatted. Also
 I say, that yf any thyng wante in a wise man by nature,
 he supplyeth it by science: and he that is ignoraunt and fo-
 lysh, yf he want dyscretion, he supplyeth it with his ma-
 lyce. And truske surely, that a wrothyp vettuouse man ther-
 by becometh wylle, and he is to be trusted: and he that is
 of an other maner, beware of hym, fo; he goeth aboue to
 sell his malycy. He that wyl begyle an other, the fyfth thyng
 that he doth is, he sheweth hym selfe to be symple and ig-
 no;raunt. fo; a man beynge in credence, maye soone sprede
 abrode his malycy. The mothes and softe wormes, freete

the clothe, and the canter wome perseth the bone, and flat-
tenyng men begyle all the wold.

Howe science ought to be in p̄yndis. Cap. xxx.

The sayd emperour folowing his purpose, sayd: frendes beholde, howe greate damage igno-
rance dothe to all men. And though it be do-
mageable to cuery man, yet it is moste hunte-
full to a p̄ynce, whiche oughte, not onely to be
content, to knowe as moche as any other wylde person kno-
weth, but to knowe that every man knoweth, sythe he is
lede ouer all other. To my iugement, these p̄yndis ar not
chosyn, that they shulde eate more meat, than all other, nor
to be apparelled rychelyst than all other, nor to renne fa-
ster than all other: but with presuppositiō that they ought
to knowe more than all other. Whan a p̄ynce wyl refrayn
his sensualite, than he ought to regarde, that his persone
be ryght honest, and remēb̄eth this wold, that is, The gret-
test that a p̄ynce is of power, aboue other, the more oughte
he to be vertuouse aboue al other. For certaynly the great-
test infamye is, to se a man most myghty & most ryche aboue
all other, and than to be knowen an ideot, & lesse of know-
lege than other. All defautes in a gouernour may be boȝne
saue ignoraunce: for ignoraunce in a p̄ynce, is a stroke of
pestilence: and it sleeth dyuers, and infecteth all persons,
and vnpeopleleth the realme, chaceth awaie frendes, & gy-
ueth harre to enemis of strange natiōs, that were in d̄eade,
& finally damageth his person, and sclaund̄eth cuery one.
Whan Camyll triumphed ouer the frenche men, the daye
of his triunphe he wrote these wordes in the Cappytoll: O
Rome, thou hast ben moder of all wylde men, and stepdame
to all foolcs. These were worthy wordes of such a lord,

and but yf my remembraunce begyle me, certaynely Rome
was mo^re renoumed for wylle persones, that came thynche,
than for the featis of warre, that were sente from thense.
Our auncyent Romayns were mo^re feared, for they^r wylle-
dome and knowledge, than for they^r conques^tes. All the erthe
feared them mo^re, that tourned leaued of bokes in Rome,
than them, that were armed with armoure. For that cause
Rome was never vanquyshed: and though they^r armes
were deuyded and broken, yet they never lacked wylle men.
I can not say it without teares, Rome is fallen frome the
most hyght of her estate, not for faute of money and armes,
for to fyght withall, but for lacke of wylle men, and vertu-
ous, for to gouerne. Our forefathers wanne lyke men, and
we lese lyke symple chyldren. All thynges that are desyred
of men, they attayn by traualye, susteyn with thought, and
departe fro, with great annoyance. And the reason is this:
There is no thyng so good, nor so well beloued, but the
course of tyme, causeth vs to leaue it, and to dyspraye and
abho^re it, or to be wery therof. This is the vayn vanite of
the worlde, and lost tyme lost: for with they^r yonge desyres,
they do refrayne they^r desyres. They wolde oftentymes at-
tayne a thyng, and after they study, howe to go thereto ag-
ayne. And yet to shewe further they^r lyghtnes, that that
cost moche, they gyue for a lyttel p^cice. That that they loue
at one tyme, they hate at an other: and that that they with
great studye and labour haue attayned, with greatte furye
they forgo. And me thynketh this is the ordinaunce of the
goddis, that he that loueth, shall haue an ende, and it that
is beloued, shall take an ende: and the tyme that we are in,
shall ende. Than it is reasone, that the loue, wherwith
we do loue, shall ende in lyke wylle. Thus our appetyte is
so dyshonest, that in seynge we desyre it, and in desyryng we
procure it, and in procuringe, we attayne it, and in the at-
tayning

teyninge we abhorre it, and in the abhorrynge, we leauie it: and than for the with agayne, we procure an other thyng, and that newe procurynge, we abhorre agayne: In suche wyse, that whan we begynne to loue a thyng, than we fall agayne to hate it, and in the fallynge to hate it, we begyn agayne to loue an other thyng. So thus fynally, our lyfe dothe ende, et our couetyse dothe leaue vs. It is not thus of wysdome and knowlege, the whiche, yf it ones entre into a mans hatte, it causeth hym to forget the trauayle, that he toke in the attaynyng thereof. For he taketh the tyme past as good, and enioyeth with ryghtful ioy, the tyme present, and hateth ydelnes. No; he is not contente with that he knoweth, but enforceith his appetite, to knowe moze, loynge that other leaueth: and leauynge, that other loueth. fynally, he that is perfittely wyse, sporteth in this worlde with trauayle, and in trauaplyng in bokes, is his rest. We haue not to saye of all thynges, but of that we fele of them. For it is an other maner to speake by similitude of a stranger, and of our owne experiance. And in this case I saye, that though we hope of no rewarde of the goddis, nor honour amonge men, nor memorie of the worlde to come: yet am I ryght gladd, to be all onely a phylosopher, to se how gloriously the philosophers haue passed they; tyme. I demaunde one thyng, whan myne understandynge is dulled, in that I haue to doo, and whan my memorie is troubled, in that I haue to determyne, and whan my bodye is compassed with dolours, and whan my hatte is charged with thoughtes, and whan I am without knowledge, and whan I am set about with perpls, where canne I be better accompanied, than with wyse men, or els redyng amonge bokes? In bokes I fynde wysdome, wherby I may lerne: also there I fynd worthynes, whiche I may folowe: I fynd there prudencie, to counsell me, I fynde suche as be sozow-

full, with whom I may wepe. I fynde them there that be
 metye, with whom I maye laughe: I fynde there, symple
 folke, at whome I may spoȝt: I fynde that is nouȝte, whi-
 che I mape laue: And synally, in bokes I fynde, howe in
 prosperitie, I ought to behauie me: and howe in aduersite-
 tie, I ought to guyde me. O, howe happy is that manne,
 that hath well red: And yet moxe happy is he, that though
 he knoweth moche, yet stayeth vpon counsayle. And if
 this be true generally, than moxe is it necessary, that
 he kepe the true wye, whiche gouerneth all other. It is a
 rule infallyble, that a pƿynce beyng wylse, can never be sim-
 ply good, but very good: and the pƿynce that is ignoraunt,
 can not be simply vil, but very yll. A pƿynce, that is not well
 fortunate, his wyldeome maye greatly excuse hym to his
 people, of his myssfortune gyuen to hym by fortune. When
 a pƿynce is greatly beloued of his cōmentie, and is vertuous
 of his persone, than euery man saythe, yf he haue not
 good fortune: All though our pƿynce hat good fortune, yet
 his worthy vertues fayle not: and though he be not hap-
 py in his ententes, yet at the leaste he sheweth his wyldeome
 in the meane season. And though he fortune denye hym at
 one howe, yet at an other tyme, he agreeth, by his wylse-
 dome. And contrary wylse, an vnwylse pƿynce, and hated of
 his people, by yuell fortune, renneth into great peryll. For
 yf plc succede to hym in weighty mattiers, than incon-
 tent it shalbe sayd, it is by reason of the ignoraunce of hym
 selfe, or by yll counsell of such as be about hym, & yf good-
 nes succede to hym, it shall not be attrributed by reason of
 his good gouernance, but that fortune hath suffered it,
 and not by the circumspecte wyldeome, that he hath hadde
 in the meane seasone, but that it was of the pitie, that the
 goddis had of hym. Than ful it is thus, a vertuous and
 a worthy pƿynce, in his ydell tymes, ought secretely to rede
 in bo-

in bookes, and openly to commun and counsell with wylle
men. And in case, yll fortune wyl not permitt hym to take
they; couisayles, yet at the least, he shall recouer credence a-
mong his subiectes. I wyl say no more to you, but I estem
the knowlege of a wise perso so moch, that yf I knewe, that
there were shops of sciéces, as there is of other marchaun-
dise, I wol gyue al þ I haue, only to lerne, that a wise man
lemeth in one day. Finally I say, that I wyl not gyue, that
þttel that I haue lerned in one houre, so, al the gold in the
wolde: And more glori haue I, of the bookes that I haue
writ, and of such wokes as I haue wþte, than of al the vic-
tories, that I haue had, or of þ realmes that I haue won.

¶ What a vilayne sayde to the senatours of Rome, in the
presence of the emperour. Cap. xxxi.

 His emperour, beyng sick, as it is also sayd,
on a daye, as there were with hym diuers phy-
sitions and oratours, there was a purpose mo-
ued amounge them, howe greatly Rome was
chaunged, not all onely in edifyces, but also in
customes, and was full of flatterers, and vnpepled of men,
that durste say the trouthe. Than the emperour sayd: The
þytle yere, that I was consull, there came a poore vilayne
from the ryuer of Danubie, to aske iustice of the senate, a-
penste a censure, who bydde bpuers extortious to the peo-
ple: and he hadde a small face, and great lyppes, and ho-
lowe eyes, his heare cutted, bare heeded, his shooes of a
þorkepes shyn, his cote of gotis heare, his gyrdell of bulle
rushes, and a wþld eglantyne in his hand. It was a straige
thinge to se hym so monstorous: and unuayle, to here his
purpose. Certaynly, whan I saw hym com into the senate,
I wende it had bene some deaste, in the figure of a manne.

And

M A R C V S

And after I had harde hym, I judged hym onie of the goddes, yf there be goddes amonge men. And as the custome in the senate was, that the complayntes of the poore persons were harde, before the requestes of the ryche: this vilayne had lycence to speake, and soo beganne his purpose, wherin he shewed hym selfe as bolde in wordes, as extreme and base in his aray, and sayd: O ye auncient fathars, and happy people, I Myles, dwellynge in a cytie on the ryuer of Danubie, doo salute you Senatours, that are here assembled in the sacred senate. The dedes do permitt, and the goddes suffre, that the capitayns of Rome, with theyn great pryde haue reduced vndre subiection, the vnhappy people of Germany. Great is the gloriy of you Romayns, for your battayles that ye haue wonne throughout all the wold. But yf wryters saye true, more greater shalbe your infamy, in tyme to come, for the cruelties that ye haue done to the innocentes. My predecessours had people nyghe to the flode of Danubie, and bycause they dyd ylle, the erthe waxed drye, and they drewe to the fresshe water: than the water was noyfull to them, and they returned to the mayn lande. What shall I say then, your couetyse is so great, to haue straungers goodes, and your pryde so renoumed, to commaunde all straunge landes, that the see may not profyte vs, in the depnes therof, nor the erthe, to assure vs in the caues therof. Therfore I hope in the iuste goddes, that as ye, without reason, haue caste vs out of our houses and possessyons: so other shall com, that by reason, shal cast you out of Italy and Rome. An infallible rule it is, that he, that taketh wronfully an other mans good, shall lese the ryght of his owne. Regard ye Romans, though I be a vilayne, yet I knowe, who is iust & ryghtwyse, in holdyng his owne: and who a tyrant, in posseslyng others. There is a rule, that what so euer they, that be vil, haue gathered in many

many daves; the goddes taketh fro them in one dave: and contrarie wylle, all that euer the good haue loste in manye daves, the goddys restoreth to them agayn in one day. Believe me in one thyng, and haue no doute therin, that of the vnlauffull wynnyng of the fathers, there foloweth the iuste losse to theyz chyldren. And yf the goddes toke frome them, that be yll, euery thyng, that they haue wonne, as soone as it is wonne, it were but reasone: but in lettyng them alone, therby they assemble by lytell and lytel diuers thynges, and than, whan they thynke least theron, is taken from them all at ones. This is a iuste iugement of the goddys, that sythe they haue done yll to dyuerse, that some shulde do yll to them. Certaynely it is not possyble to any vertuous man, yf he be vertuous, that he take any taste in an other mans good. And I am soye abashed, how a man, kepyng an other mans good, can lyue one houre. Byth he seeth, that he hath don iniure to the goddis, scladzed his neybours, pleased his enmyes, lost his frendes, greued the that he hath robbed, and aboue all, hath put his owne person in peryll. This is a shamefull thyng amounge menne, and culpable before the goddys, the man that hath the desyre of his harte, and the brydele of his warkes at suche libertie, that the lyttell, that he taketh and robbeth fro the poore, semeth moche to hym: but a great deale of his owne semeth to hym but lyttell. O what an vnhappy man is he, whether he be Greke, or latyn, that without consyderation, wyl chaunge his good fame into shame, iustice into wrog, tyght into tyzanny, or trouth into lesyng, the certayne into vncertayne, hauyng answaunce of his owne goodes, and dye for other mens? He that hath his princypall intention, to gather goodes for his chyldren, and seke not for a good name, amounge them that be good: it is a iuste cause, that he lese all his goodes, and so withoute good name to

M A R C V S

to be shamefull amoung them that be yll. Let all couetous and auaricious people knowe, that neuert amoung noble men was gotten good renoume, with spredyng abjode of yll gotten goodes. It can not endure many dayes, no; per be hydden vnder couert many peres: a man to be holden tyche amoung them that be tyche, and an honorable man amoung them that be honorable: for he shal be infamed, of that he hathe gathered his ryches, with great couetyse, or kepereth it with extreme auarice. Of these couetous people were as couetous of they; owne honout, as they be of other mens goodes: I swere to you, that the lyttell worme or mothe, that eateth the gounes or clothes of suche couetous people, shulde not eathe the teste of they; lyfe, no; the canker of infamye, dysstrope they; good name and faime at they; deathes. Herke ye Romaynes, hatke what I wyll say, I wolde to the goddes, that pe couilde taste it. I se that all the wold hateth pypde, and yet is there none, that foloweth mekenes and humilitie. Every man condempneth aduouterie, and yet I see none, that lyueth chaste: Every man curseth excesse, and I se none lyue temperately: every man prayseth pacience, and I se none that wyll suffre: every man blameth slouth, and I se none, but they be ydel: every one blameth auarpce, and yet every body robbeth. One thyng I saye, and not without wepyng: I saye every manne, with his tongue onely, prayseth vertue, and yet they them selues, with all they; lyvynes are seruauntes unto vices. I saye not this onely for the Romaynes, whiche bene in Illarie: but I saye it by the senatours that I se in the senate. All ye Romaynes, in your deuises aboute your armes beare these wordes: Romanorum est debellare superbos, & pacere subiectis, That is, it pertaineth to Romaynes, to subdewe them that be proude, and to forgyue subiectes. But certaynely ye maye better saye: hit pertaineth to Romaynes

mayns, to expell innocentes, and to trouble and vere wrog-
fully peasyble people. For pe Romayns are but destroyers
of peasyble people, and theues to robbe stroine otherc, that
they sweate for.

COf dyuers other thynges that the bylayne sayd
before the senate. cap. xxxii.

 Je Romayns, sayd this byllayn, what action
haue ye, that are brought vppye nygh to the ry-
uet of Thybet, agaynste vs, that are nygh to
the ryuet of Danubie? Haue ye scene vs fren-
des to your enemynes? or haue we declared vs
your enemynes? or haue ye harde say, that we haue lefte
our owne lande, and inhabyted any straunge londes? or
haue ye harde, that we haue rebelled ageynste our lordes,
or haue troubled any straunge realmes? or haue ye sente
vs any ambassadours, to delyze vs to be your frendes? or
hath any hooste of ours come to Rome to distroye you, as
our enmies? or hath any kyng dyed in oure realme? that
in his testamēt made yon heyrs to our realme? or what an-
tyc lawe haue ye founde, wherby we ought for to be yc re-
subiectes? Of trouthe in Almayne herby, they haue felte
your tyrannyp, as well as we haue heide of your renowme.
And more ouer I say, that the names of the Romaynes,
and the cruelte of tyranteres, aryued togither in one day vpon
our people. I wote not what ye wyl say, that the god-
dys care not for the hardynes of men: for I see, he þ hath
moche dothe tyrannyp, to hym that hath but lytell. And he
that hath but lytell, though it be to his infamy, wyl serue
hym that hath moche. So that disordred me appoint them
with secrete malycē, & secrete malycē gyucth place to open
theft: & the open robbery no man resyseth. And therfore it
cometh, that the courtyse of an yll man necessarily is had

P.ii. to be

to be complete, to the p̄judyce of many good men. One thynge I wyll say, that eyther the goddes ought to thynke howe these men shall haue an ende, or elles that the w̄orlde muste ende: or els the w̄orlde, to be no w̄orlde. O; fortune muste holde sure with you, yf all that ye haue won in. viii. C. yeres, ye lese not in. viii. dayes. And whiche as ye are become lordes ouer many, ye shall become slauens to all the w̄orlde. Certayne the goddes shall be vnuste, withoute that thynge come, that muste fall to the w̄orlde hereafter. So; that man that maketh hym selfe a tyraunt perforce, it is ryghte, that he retourne to be a slau in iustyce. And it is reason, that syth ye haue taken out mysterable lāde, that ye kepe vs in Justyce. I haue great iuuagle of you Romayns, that ye send so simple p̄sons to be our iuges. So; I swere to the goddes, they can not declare your lawes, nor vnderstande ours. I wote not whether ye sente them thider or no, but I shall shewe you, what they do there. They take openly, what so euer is delyuered to them: and they doo theyr p̄ofytte with that they deluze in secrete. They chastyse the poore personne greuously, and they forbeare for money, them that be ryche: they conserue to many w̄ornges, to b̄yng them after to the lawes: & without goodes it boteth not to demande iustyce: and finally, vnder þ colour that they be iuges, vnder the senate of Rome, they say they shaye robbe all the londe. What is this ye Romayns: shall your p̄yde never haue an ende in commaudyng, nor your couetyse in robbing: Saye what ye wyll. If ye doo it so; our chylđren, charge them with p̄sons, and make them slauens: If ye do it so; our goodes, goo thyther and take them: If our seruice doth not contente you, strike of our heedes. Why is not the knyfe soo cruell in our throtes, as your tyraunnes be in our hartes? Doo ye knowe, what ye haue doone ye Romaynes: ye haue caused vs to sweare, newes

never to retourne to our wþues: but too sée our chldren,
rather than to leaue them in the handes of so cruell tyran-
tes. We had leauet suffce the beastly motions of the fleshe
for. xx. xii. xxx. yeres, than to dye without wounde, leauyng
our chldren sclaves. ye ought not to do this ye Romayns.
I lond taken per force, oughte the better to be ruled, to the
entent that the myserable captiues, seyng iustice duely mi-
nistred to them, shulde therby forgette the tyrrany passed,
and to set theyz hattes to perpetuall seruitude. And sythe
we are come to complayne of the grefes that your Censu-
res do vpon the fludde of Danubie, peraduenture you of
the senate wþll heare vs. Wotte ye what they doo: Harke,
and I shall shewe you. If there come a ryghtc poore man,
to demaunde iustyce, hauyng no money to gyue, noz wþyne
to pþesent, noz oyle to promyse: they fede hym with wordes,
sayinge howe he shal haue Justyce, but they make hym
to waste the lytell that he hath, and gyue hym nothyng,
thoughe he demaunde moch. And so the myserable person,
that came to complayne, retourneh complaynyng on you
all, cursyng his cruell destries, and maketh exclamatio-
npon the ryghtwþse goddes. I lyue with acornes in wyn-
ter, and cutte downe the grene coine in sommer, and some-
tyme I go a syþyng to pastyne, so that the moste parte
of my lyvinge, is feedynge in the fieldes, and ys wote not
why: here me, and I shall shewe you. I se suche tyrranies
in your censures, and suche robberyes amonge the poore
people, and I se suche warres in that realme, and hope of
so small remedy in your senate, that I am determined, as
moste vnhappy, to banyshe my selfe out of myn own hous,
and honest company, to thentent that my harre shulde not
fele so great a hurt. It is a great payne to suffce the ouer-
thowre of fortune: but it is a greater yll, whan one feleth
it, and can not remedy it: and yet without comparyson my

¶.iii. great

M A R C V S

greatest grefe is, whan my losse may be remedped, and he
that may wyll not, and he that wyll, can not remedye it. O
ye cruell Romayns, yf the sorowes all onely shulde be re-
duced to memorie, that we suffre, my tongue shulde be iury
and all my membres fayne, and myne eyes shoulde wepe
bluddy teates, & my fleshe wold consume. This in my labe
may be sene with eyes, hatde with carres, and felte in p-
pe persone. Certapnly my harte departeth, and my soule
is troubled, & myn entrayles b-zeake. And I beleue yet, the
goddys wyll haue compassyon. I wyll desyre you to take
my wordes for sclauder. For ye Romayns, yf ye be Ro-
mayns, ye may well see, that the trouble, that we haue, co-
meth by men, and amonge men, and with men, and by the
handes of men. Than it is no metuaple though men sele
it as men. One thyng comforsteth me, and dyuers tymes
amonge oþer, that be unforþunate, it comereth to such pur-
pose, the whiche is, I thynke the goddys be so ryghtwysse,
that theyþ fierce and cruel chastymentes come not but by
our owne cruell shrewdnes: & our secrete synnes awaketh
vs so, that we haue open iustyce. But of one thyng I am
soþe troubled, bycause the goddys can not be contented. For
a good person, for a lytel faut, is greatly chastised, and he
that is yl, for many fautes, is not punyshed at al. So thus
the goddys forþbear some, & some haue no metry. Thus it
semeth, that the goddys wyll torment vs by the handes of
such men as greue vs extremely. So that yf there were a-
ny iustyce in the worlde, whan they chastyse vs with theyþ
handes, we shoulde not metyte to haue our heedes on the
shulders. Therfore I say to you, ye Romayns, and swere
by the immortall goddis, that in xv. days, that I haue ben
in Rome, I haue sene suche dedes done in yowre senate, &
yf the leest dede of them had ben done at Danubie, the ga-
loues & gibettes, had ben hanged thycher of theues, than
the

the vineyard with grapes and reysons. And sith þ my de-
þc hath scene, that it desyþeth, my harte is at teste: in spre-
nge abjode the poyson that was in it. If my tonge hath
kended you in any thynge, I am here redy, to make recõ-
nunce with my thynge. So; in good sothe, I had rather to
wynne honour, of letynge my selfe to the deathe, thanne ye
huld haue it, in takynge my lyfe fro me. Thus this vilain
ended his purpos. Then the emperour sayde: How thinke
þ my scandes, what kernel of a nut? what golde of fylth?
what grayne of strawe, what rose of thornes, what ma-
nwe of bones, dyd he vncouer: What reason so hye, what
wordes so well sette, what crouth so true, and what malice
spened he so. He discouered the duetye of a good manne.
And I swete to you, as I may be deluyeted from this cuill
truer that I haue, that I saw this vilain standyng a hole
houre on the erth boldly, & we holdynge downe out hedes
blashed, & could not answere hym a word. The next day it
was accordeed in the senat, to send new rages to Danubie.
And we comanded the vilain to deluyer vs in wrytyng, all
that he had sayd, that it myght be regestered in the booke of
good sayenges of strangers. And the sayde vilayne, for his
wyse wordes was made paticien, & so tairied styl at Rome,
and so euer was susperned of the common treasure.

Chowe the emperour desyþed the welth of his peo-
ple, and the people his welth.ca. xxvii.

A the seconde yere that Mar. was chosen em-
perour, the. xlv. yere of his aye, as he retour-
ned fro the warres, that he had in conquerynge
the Germanys and the Iragous, wherby he
got gloriȝ & ryches so; the Romaynes empre,
he laye at Salon to teste hym, and to appoynt his armes,
and

M A R C V S

and to the entente, that the Romaynes shulde apparet his triumphe in Rome ryght gloriouſ and rychly: There was one thyng done, that was neuſt ſene before in Rome. for the day of his triumphe, by all the people and conſent of the ſenate, the prince Comodus, ſonne to Marcus Aureli, was chosen after the dethe of his father to be Emperour vniuersall of the myre. He was not chosen by the petition of his father, for he was agaynſte hit with all his powere, ſayeng, that the myre ought not to be gyuen for the laude of them that be dead, but he shulde be chosen, for his owne good warkes. Oftentymes this Emperour wolde ſay, Rome ſhall be loſte, whan the election ſhall be taken from the Senate, and the Emperour to enheyte the myre by Patrimonie.

Howe to returne wher as we leſte. This Emperour beynge at Salon, ſtudped ſo ſore to entre into Rome in good order, and Rome ſtudped ſo ſore hewe to receyue hym, as it appertayned triumphantly for ſuche a warre. He was ſo deſyred of the myre: and euer he imagined, hewe to do piture to the people, and the people were ready to dye in his ſcrupce. Dyuers tymeſ was moued a pleasant putpose in the ſenate, which of theſe thynges was moſte to be loued: The Emperour to loue the people of the myre, or the people of the myre the Emperour. On a daye hit was determyned, to ſette iuges in that caſe: There were chosen the ambassadours of the Parthes and Roodes: and vpon that effecte they hadde wriſtinge. It was layde for the Emperour, the good dedes that he had done in his absence, and the tokens of loue, that they hadde alwayes ſhewed in his presence. And on an other daye the Emperour moued an other queſtion beſore the ſenate, ſaying, that it was a greater glorie, to haue ſuche ſubiectes, than the glorie of the ſenate, to haue ſuche an Emperour. Then the Senate ſayde day:

nap: affirming that it is a greater glorie that they had of hym, than he coulde haue of them. And in this maner the emperour gaue the glorie to the people, and the people to the emperour. Thus in spoile and play they toke iudges agayne. It was a metueyloous thyng to se the toy that they al had to prove they; intentes. And the good emperour for amemorpe gaue the laude to the people, bycause of they; great obedience and seruice, and extreme loue that he had founde in them: And the happy people recounted the great demencie and mercy that was in the emperour, and his vertue and worthynes in gouernyng, his honestye of lyng, and his force and valiancnes in conquerynge. It was a great thyng to se the honour that the people gaue to the emperour, and the good renoume that the emperour gaue to the people. The wyttynges were gyuen to the straunge ambassadours, to thentent that the people myght lerne to obey they; prynces: and prynces to loue they; people. To the ende that by such examples, as it was reason, the good people shuld enforce them selues, and the yll to withdrawe. Thus this emperour adressed his ente with his capitaines and captyues, And Rome apparyled theym with all their senatours and people to receyue hym. It was a huge thyng to se what people was at Rome to go forth to mete hym, and what people were with the emperour to ente. They that were at Halon hadde they; eyes and also they; hartes at Rome: and they that were at Rome hadde they; hartes at Halon. In suche wyse that they; eyes daselde with that they sawe, and they; hartes akerd for that they hord to se. There is no greater payne, than whan the harte is defettered fro that it longeth soye to haue.

Chowe the emperour gaue Lucilla his doughter lycence to spoile her at his playes, ca. xxxiii.

Q

It



Tis to be knownen, that the Romaynes had a
 custome, that in the monethe of Janiuer, they
 shulde make triumphes to they; emperours:
 and in the same seson that the tryumphes were
 apparayled. Faustyn the empresse caused dyuers
 hygh persons to praye the emperoure to gyue lycence to a
 doughter of his, to com from thare as she was kept, to the
 palays, and spoyle her at the feastes. This mayden was
 named Lucie or Lucyll: She was hygher than the prince
 Commodus her brother: she was of a goodlye gesture and
 well proportioned of her body, and wel beloued of her mo-
 ther. And she resembled her not all onely in her beautye,
 but also in her lyuyng. And though the requeste was pp-
 tifull, and they that made it familier, and he to whome it
 was made, was the fater, and the demaundet was the
 mother, and she for whome it was made, was the dough-
 ter: the emperour graunted it, but not withoute great dis-
 pleasure. Neuerthelesse Faustyne was full gladde, and as
 sone as she had obteyned lycence, she brougthe her dough-
 ter to the palays. And so whan the day of the great feaste
 and tryumph was come, the damoyseil Lucyll beyng
 out of gouernance, and seyng her selfe at large, trustyng
 thanne vppon her owne innocencye, toke noo hede of any
 straunge malycce, laughed with them that laughed, talked
 with them that talked, and behelde them that behelde her,
 and withoute care she thought that none thought yll of her
 bycause she thought yll of none: yet in those dayes a may-
 den to laugh among men was reputed as moche as a wo-
 man to haue done aduoutrie with the prestes of Grece, so
 great was the honestie of Romayn women esteemed. And
 lightnes of maydens was a great infamie: for they were
 woirs punysshed for one open lyghtnes, than for two secret
 fautes. Amonge all other seuen thynges the women dyde

obserue

obserue surely, that is to wytte, not to speke moche at feastes, not to eate moche at bantlettes, to drynke no wyne in theyz helthe, nor to speake alone with men, not to lyfte vp theyz eyes in the temples, nor to stande longe lokynge out at wyndowes, nor to go out of theyz houses without theyz husbandes. The woman taken with any of these dyshonest thynges, was alwyses after reputed infamed. Many thynges were sussted of persons in small reputation, that were not sussted in persons of honour. So the noble wemen coude not cōserue the reputatiō of theyz estate, but by reason of kepyng theyz person in great feare & good order. Al thynges done unkynedly is syn, & maye be amcnded: but the dishonest woman is alway shamed. The noble lades, if they wyl be taken as lades, whā they excede other in riches, the lesse lycence ought they to haue to go wandryng about. Certaynly the plentie of goodes, & the liberty of persons, shulde not be a spur to pukke the forward, but rather abydell to kepe them in theyz closettes. And this is sayde, so bycause that duryng the layd feastes, the damoyseil Luuille, as a yonge mayden, and Faustyne, her louynge mothe not beyng olde, sommetyme a foote, and sometyme tydyinge on horsebacke, sommetyme openly, and sommetyme metuaylous secretly, sommetymes with company, and sommetymes without compayne, sommetyme on the daie, and nowe and than by nyghte, they wolde walke abyde in the stretes of Rome to se the feldes of Vulcan, in gardynnes Saturnines, and dryncke at the conduites of Actos watter, and sommetyme passe the tyme by the fayre quert of Thibet, and in all suche other pleasant sportes as apperteyned to theyz age. And thoughē the foye typped sommetyme prouoked them thereto, yet the grauitie of suche ladies shoulde not suffre it. I wylle saye one thyng, to thentent noble women shulde take auertisement therby,

and that is this: I knowe not whiche was the greateſte
dissolution, eyther the walkyng abrode of Faſtynge and
Lucyple through the ſtretes and other places, or elles the
boldnes of yll speakers, ſpeakyng agaynt theyz persones
and good names. The withdrawyng and kepyng of wo-
men cloſe is a bydell to the tongues of all men: and the
woman that doth otherwyſe, otherwyſe putteth her good
name in daunger. Of trouthe it were better for a woman
neuer to be borne, than to be defamed. Amonge the Ro-
mayns the lygnage of the Cornelies were had in great e-
ſtimation. For of them all, neuer none was founde a q-
warde, nor a woman defamed. The hystoryes ſhewe, that
ones a woman of that lygnage beyng onely defamed, was
hanged on the galowes by the handes of her owne kyns-
folke. Surely it was well doone of the Romaynes, to the
entent that the wyckednes of one wooman ſhuld not ſuffere
yll fame to renne vpp on the hole lygnage: where is there
noblenes without shame? The thynges that touche ho-
nour, ought not to be hyd but amended by Juſtice, and to
put theym to deathe, that lose theyz good fame. It is not
ſuffycyent for a person to be good: but it is necessarye that
he put fro hym all occaſions that are reputed to be yll. All
the loſſys that a man may haue of any tempo; all goodes,
can not countrepeyſe the leſt loſſe of good fame. A man
that layeth his good fame for a farthyng at a but of this
wo;ld, at a hundreth ſhattes ſcantly ſhall he ſhoote one a-
ryght. And contrary wyſe the man that feareth no shame,
nor wyll not haue his personne in reputation, there is noo
hope of goodnes in hym. Than this empcreour, as a ſhyps-
mayſter, ſaylyng in moost ſayne and calme weſter, foreca-
ſtethe, and is in great thoughte and feare of tempeſtes
and ſtores to commie, in the feaſtes of his greateſte gloriy,
was in doubtē of thoſe two ladys, leſte ſodenly any myſ-
fame

same shuld folowe. And certaynly he had great cause. For hit is an infallyble rule of enuyous fortune, that this present felycitie is gyuen with a pypke of a sodayne falle of myschance. In thynges naturall, we se somtyme the see caulme, and yet foloweth a peryllous stome, and consequentlie the great heate of the daye is sygne of thunder at nyght. I say fortune comynge with some present delyte or pleasure, is a tokene that by flaterynge vs, she hath made ready her snares to catche vs. Whan the millet is sure, he dresseth his water gaate, and the labourer whan it reyneth not, couereth his house, thynkyng that an other tyme the wethers or raynes wyll falle thecon and trouble hym: In lykewyse a wyse and a vertuous man ought to thynke, as longe as he lyueth in this wold, he holdeth his felicite but at aduenture: and his aduersitie for his naturall patrimony. Amonge all them that coulde reioyce in prosperitie, and helpe theym selfe in aduersitie, this emperour Marcus Aurelius was one: whiche for any flaterynges that fortune coulde shewe hym, he never trusted in them: nor for myshappe that he had in this lyfe, he never dispayred.

Cwhat Marcus thempertour sayd to a Senatour
as touchyng tryumphes .Cap. xxxv.

Wanne these feastes were passed as, Sertus Heronense sayth, a senatour named Aluinus sayde to thempertour, the same nyght that the tryumph ceassed: *Sy; reioyce you sythe that this day ye haue gyuen so great ryches to the common treasure of Rome: and I haue sene your person in the triumphe of glorie: and to the wold to come of you and your house you haue lefte perpetuall memorye.* The

¶.iii. empe-

emperour beryng these wordes, said in this maner: If dedes
 it is good reason we beleue, the hister knoweth the fiersnes
 of bestis, the phisition the propertye of herbes, the martinet
 the perils and roches, the capitaines the chances of warre,
 and the emperour that triumpheth, the ioyes that he hath
 of triumphes. As god helpe me, and as euer I haue
 part with my p^redecessours, and as euer I haue good for-
 tune, the thoughtes that I haue had for these festes, haue
 bene farre greater than the feares that I haue had in all
 the tourneyes and battaylles afore. And the reason therof
 is verye eydent to them that haue clere vnderstandinge:
 for always in cruel battailes I was euer in hope to haue
 glorie, & feared not the ouerthow of fortune. What coude
 I lose in battayle? Rethynge but the lyfe, that is the leek
 thynge that men haue, and alwayes in these triumphes I
 feare to lose renoume, whiche is the greatest gyfte that
 the goddes haue gyuen me. O howe happy is that man,
 that loseth his lyfe, and laeueth behynde hym perpetuall
 memorie. Lette euery man vnderstande this that wylle,
 and saye what they lyste: that amouge noble and valy-
 aunte barons, he dyeth not, that leeseth his lyfe, and lea-
 ueth good renowne after hym: and moche lesse tyme ly-
 ueth he that hath an yll name, though he lyued manye
 yeres. The ancyent phylosophers reckened not the lyfe of a
 man, though he lyued many yeres, but they reckened the
 good werkes that he hadde doone. The senate was im-
 portune vpon me, that I shoulde take this triumphe, as
 ye knowe well: and I can not tell whiche was greateste,
 they; desyre o^r my resystance. You knowe not the trouthe
 why I say thus. I dyd it not bycause of ambition, and so-
 couerousnes of glorie, but it was bycause I fete þ humaine
 malice. At the day of the triumphe there was not so greate
 sorow shewed by the symple persons, but the hys envy was
 greater

greatest among the greatest persons. This glory passeth
in one day, but envy abydeth a hole yere. The plentyfull
realme of Egypt, so happy in the blodshed of theyr enimies
as in the waters of Ayle, hadde a lawe immouable. They
never denied theyr mercy to the captiues ouercome: noz
they gaue no tryumph to theyr capytaynes ouercomers.
¶ The Caldees mocke at the Romayn triumphes, assy-
myng how there is not gyuen so great chastyment to the
capytayne of Egypte ouercome, as the empire Romayne
gyue to the ouercomer, whan tryumph is gyuen to hym.
And surely the reason is good, for the thoughtfull cap-
tayne, whanne he hathe chased his ennemis, that Rome
hathe in straunge londes, with his owne proprie speare, in
payment for his trauple they gyue hym ennemis in his
owne proprie londe. I swere to you, that all the Romayne
cavtyaynes haue not leste so many ennemis deed by swerd,
as they haue recouered yll wyllars the daye of theyre try-
umphes. Let vs leue the Caldees, and speake we of oure
auicent Romaynes, whiche yf they myghte retorne now
agayne into the wold, they wolde Rathere be tyed faste
to the chayrottes as captiues, than to syt in them as byc-
tours. And the cause is, theyr neyghbours seyng them go
inge as captiues, wolde moue theyr hartes to set them at
liberte, so that the glorie of theyr triumphes is a meane to
cause them to be persecuted and pursued. I haue redde in
wyptyng, and herde of my p^redecessours, and haue seene of
my neyghbours, that the aboundinge of felicitie hath
caused cruell envie to be in many. ¶ In what petyl art they
that with particuler hono^r wold be exalted among others
In the molte hygheste trees the force of wyndes is mooste
aduaunced. And in most sumptuous buyldynge^s lyghte-
ninge and thunders dothe mooste hurte, and in greate
thycke and dype busshes the fyres kende mooste easelpe:

I say that in them that fortune hath reysed moste hyghly, agaynst them spredeth the greateste popson of enuye. All suche as be vertuouse say: The mo enemys they subdue to the common welthe: the mo envious they recouer of theyz renoume. One ought to haue great compassyon of a vertuouse manne: bycause where he traualleth to be good, there abydethe one thynge in hym, of the whiche all onely at the deth he seeth the ende. And that is, the moxe a man recouereth here renoume amonge straungers, the moxe he is persecuted with enuy amonge his owne nations. Homer shewethe in his Illiades, that Caluitio kynge of the Argues was expert in clergie, valiant in armes, and indued with diuers graces, beloued with his people, aboue all other he was a greate louer of his goddis and worshyp- per of theym. This good kynge had a custome, that in all thynges that he had to do, he wolde fynde aske counsayle in the temples of the goddes: he wolde begynne no warre agaynste other, nor oþdeyne no newe lawe nor custome in his realme: nor gyue aunswere to the ambassadours, nor put no trespassours to death: nor set no tribute on his peo- ple: but fynde he wolde go to the temple, and make dyuers sacrificyces to knowe the wyll of the goddes. And bycause he went so often to the oracles, he was demaunded what answere the goddes made to hym in secrete, seynge he was so impoþtunate. Then he aunswered and sayd: I demande of the goddes, that they shulde not gyue me so lyttell, that euery man myght abate and ouercome me. Nor also that they shulde gyue me so moche, that euery manne shoulde hate me, but my desyre is to haue a meane estate, wherewith euery manne myghte loue me. For I hadde leuer be felowe with many in loue, than to be kynge of all with ha- tred and enuy.

COf the great reproche that the emperour gaue
to his wyfe Faustyne and her doughter.

Capitu. xxxvi.



After the feastes of the triumphe afoore sayde,
this good emperour wyllyng to satysfye his
harte, and to aduertise Faustyne his wyfe, &
to teche his innocēt doughter, without know-
ledge of any other, he sent for them and sayd:
I am not content Faustyne, with that your doughter doth,
and yet lesse with that you do, which at her mother. These
maidens, for to be good maidens, ought well to knowe,
howe to obey theyz mothers. And the mothers to be good
mothers, ought to know how to bryng up theyz chyldren.
The father is excused in gyuyng counsayle, yf the mother
be vertuous, and the doughter shamefast. It is a greate
shame to the father, beyng a noble man, that his wyfe be-
yng a woman, shuld chastyse his sonne: And a great incon-
uenience of the mother, beyng a mother, that her doughter
shuld be chastised by the handes of her father. There was
a lawe ordeyned by the Rodiens, that the father with the
doughter, yf she had a mother, nor the mother with the
sonne, yf he were a man, shulde not entremedle eche with
other, but alone men with men, and women with women
ought to be brought vp. And the remptyng of the law was
such, that among them that dwelled in one house, seemed
that the fathers had no doughters, nor yf mothers no son-
nes. O Rome, I wepe not to see thy streetes vnpaued, nor
that ther is so many gutters in thy houses, nor that the ba-
tymetes fal downe, nor the tymbre hewed downe, nor for
the mynynginge of thyne habitantes, for all this the tyme
byngeth, and the tyme beareth away: but I wepe for the
and wepe for the agayne, to se the vnpeopled of good le-

theres

chers, and ungrouped in the nouryshyng of theyz sonnes
 Our countre began to faille vtterly, whan the doctryne
 of sonnes and daughters was enlarged, and theyz brydel
 leite go at libertie. For there is nowe suche boldnesse in
 men chyldren, and so lyttell shamefastnes in women, chyl-
 dren with the dishonestie of the mothes, that whet as one
 fathur suffysed for xx. sonnes, & one mothes for xx. dough-
 ters, nowe xx. fathers, scantly dare vndertake to bryng
 vp well one son, and xx. mothers one doughter. I say to
 you thus Faustyn, you rememb're not how you at a mo-
 ther, for you gyue more libertie to your doughter, thanne
 ought to be suffred. And you Lucpil rememb're not, howe
 you are a doughter: for you shewe to haue more libertie,
 than requy'reth for a yong mayden. The greatest gyfte
 that the goddyns haue gyuen to the matrones of Rome is
 bycause they are women, they kepe themselfe close and se-
 crete: & bycause they be Romans, they are shamefast. The
 day, whan the women want the feare of the goddyns secrete
 lyfe, and shame of men openly, bcreue me, eyther they shall
 sayle the wold, or the wold them. The common welthe
 requy'reth so great necessitie, that the women that dwelle
 therin, shulde be as honest, as the capptaynes be valtant.
 For the capptaynes going to warre, defende them, and the
 women that abyde at home, conserue them. As a. iii. yeres
 passed ye sawe the great pestilence, and I demanded then
 to haue a compt of the people, and I founide, that of a. C.
 x. M. women well lyuyng. lxx. M. dyed: And of x. M.
 yll women, in maner they shayed all. I can not tell for
 whiche I shulde wepe, eyther for the lacke, that we haue
 of the good and vertuous women in our common welthe,
 or elles for the greuous hurt and damage, that these yll
 and wycked women do to the youthe of Rome. The fyre
 that brenneth in mounte Etna, dothe not so greattre do-
 mage

mage to them that dwelle in Scytille, as one ylle woman
both in the circuit of Rome. A fierse beast and a perillous,
ennemie to the comon welth, is an yll woman: for she is of
power to do moche harme, and is not apte to folowe any
goodnesse. O how many realmes and kynges rede we of,
to be loste by the yll gouernance of women, and to resist
agaynst them hath ben nede of wysdome, peryls, money,
force, and wo;thynnes of many men. The vices in a woman
is as a grene rede, that botmeth every waye: but the libert-
tie and dyshonestie is as a dype kyr, that breaketh: in such
wise that the moxe yll they bter, the moxe unlykely is the
redyes therof agayn. Behold faulstyn, there is no creature
that moxe despeth honout, and wo;ys kepereth it, than a wo-
man. And that this is true, se by Justice, by orations, by
writynge, and other trauayles, manne getteth renowme:
but (without it be by flatterynge and sayxe spekynge) un-
to this houte, by antyke wrytyng, we can rede of fewe wo-
men or none, that eyther by wrytyng, readyng, wo;kyng
with nedell, spynnyngs, or by weauyng, haue gotten them
any great renoume. But as I saye of one, I saye of an o-
ther. Certaynly of dyuers we rede, by kepyng them close
in they; houses, well occupied in they; besynesses, tempe-
rate in they; wodes, faythful to they; husbandes, well o-
beded in they; personnes, peasible with they; neyghbours,
and finally beyng honeste amonge they; owne famlye,
and shamefaile amonge straungers, such haue attayned
great renowme in they; lyfe, and leste eternall memorie of
them after they; death. I woll tel you an antyke historie, as
profitable to restreyne our vices, as it dyd than augment
vertues, and it is this: The realme of Lacedemoniens (as
Plato sheweth) was at a season moxe dissolute by the un-
thriftines of women, than infamed by the crueltie of men:
so that of al maner nations they were called Barbariens.

R. II. 200 hat

What tyme Greece as a mother, called philosophie of philosophers. Lygurje, a wyse philosopher in knowlege, and a ryght iuste kyng to gouerne, partely with his doctryne ryght profitable, and partely with his pure lyfe, made lawes in the sayde realme, wherby he extirped all vices, and planted all vertues. I can not telle, whiche of these twoo were moste happy, The kyng, haupnge so obedient people, or els the realme, to haue so rightfull a kyng. Amonge all other lawes, so women he made one greatly to be commended: He commanded, that the fater that dyed, shulde gyue nothynge to his doughter. And an other, that neyther lyuunge nor dienge, he shuld gyue any money to mary her with: to the entent that none shulde mary her for her ryches, but all onely for her goodness: and not for her beautie, but for her vertues. And where as nowe, some be unmaried, bycause they are poore, so then they abode unmaried, bycause they were shamefull and vicious. O tyme, worthy to be despised, whan maydens hoped nothynge to be maried with they; fathers goodes, but by the vertuous werkis of they; owne persons. This was the tyme, called the golden wold: whan neyther the doughter feared to be disherited by the fater in his lyfe, nor the fater to dye soye for leauynge her without remedye at his deathe. O Rome, cursed be he that first brought golde into thy hous, and cursed be he, that syfte began to hurde vp treasure. Who hath made Rome to be so ryche of treasure, and so poore of vertues? Who hath made menne wedde villaines doughters, and leaue the doughters of senatours unmaried: what hath made, that the ryche mannes doughter is demanded unwillynge, and þ doughter of a poore man none wyl despise: what hath caused, that one marrieth a foole with syue. C. matke, rather than a wyse woman with. r. v. vertues. Than I saye, that in this poynte the flesche

van-

banquisheth the fleshe, and er euer the vanitie of the ma-
cie thereof is banquished. Howe cometh it, þ a couetous p-
son wyll sonet nowe adayes haue a wyfe, that is ryche and
soule, than one that is poore and fayre. O vnhappy wo-
men that bryngge forth chyldren, and moxe vnhappy be the
doughters, that are boorne, whiche to haue them maried, no
soþe is set by the blobde of theyþ predecessours, nor the fa-
vour of theyþ frendes, nor the valme of theyþ markes, nor
the beautie of theyþ persones, nor the clennes of theyþ lyfe.
O cursed wþld, wher the doughter of a good man, with-
out money, shall haue no mariage. But it was not wonte
to be soþ. For in the aunciente tyme, whan they treated of
mariages, fyþste they spake of the persones, and after of
the goodes: not as they doo at this houre, in this unhap-
py tyme: for now they speake fyþste of goodes: and laste of
all, of the persone. In the sayde golden wþlde, fyþste they
spake of the vertues, þ the person was endowed with, and
whan they were maried, in spoþtynge, they wolde speake
of the goodes. Whan Camillo triumphed vpon the Gau-
les or frenche men, he had then but one sonne, and he was
suche one, that his person merited greate laudes. And for
the renome of his father, dyuers kynges desyred to haue
 hym to theyþ sonne: and dyuers senatours desyred to haue
 hym to theyþ sonnes in lawe. This yonge manne, bryngge
of the age of .xxi. yeres, and the father at .lx. was im-
punctately spþred by his naturalle frendes, and desyred of
strange kynges, for to marye hym: but alway the olde Ca-
millo repugned the counsell of his frendes, & the importu-
nitie of the straungers. whan it was demandid, why he
determinid not vpon some mariage for his sonne, syþe
therþ shulde folowc the reþefulle lyfe of the yonge man,
and the quietnes of hym selfe in his aers. He aunswered:
I wyll not mary my sonne, bycause somme offer me ryche-

B. iii. dough-

daughters, some noble of lygnage, some yonge, and some
 fayre: but there is none hath sapde to me, I gyue you my
 vertuouse doughter. Certaynly Camyllie incited to haue
 triumph, for that he dyd. And he deserued eternall memo-
 rie, for that he sayd. I say to you Faustine al these wordes
 bycause I se you lede your doughter to the Theatres and
 playes, and do bryng her unto the Capytall. you put her
 to the keppynge of the swerde playets, you suffre her to se
 the tounblets, and yet ye doo not rememb're, that she is
 yonge, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes withoute
 lycence, and playe by the ryuers. I synd no vilanie therin,
 no; thynke that your doughter is ill: but I say it, bycause
 you gyue occasyon, that she shoulde not be good. Beware
 Faustine, never trusste in the case of the fleshe of yonge peo-
 ple. So; haue no confidence in olde folkes. So; there is
 no better way, than to flee the occasyon of all thynges. So;
 this entent the virgins vestales are closed vp betwene the
 walles, to eschewe the occasyons of open places, not to be
 moxe lyght and foolyshe, but to be moxe sadde and vertu-
 ous, sleyng occasyons. The yong shal not say, I am yong
 and vertuous, no; the olde shal not say, I am olde & bren-
 ken. So; of necessite, the dixe flaxe wyl brenne in the fyre:
 and the grene flagge smoke in the flamme. I saye, that a
 man beyng a diamonde enchaced amonge men, yet of ne-
 cessite he ought to be quycke and mety amonge women.
 And as ware melteth in the heate, we can not deuise, that
 though the wodde be taken fro the fyre, and the ymb'les
 quenched, yet never the les the stones ostentyme remayne
 hote and brennyng. In lyke wise the fleshe, though it be
 chastised with hote & drye maladies, or consumed by many
 yeres with trauayle, yet concupyscence abydereth still in the
 bones. What nede is it to blasen the vertues, & denye out
 naturallities. Certaynly ther is not so crooked a bois, but

If he se a mare, he wyl bray ones of twyse. Ther is no man
 so young nor old, but let hym se young damoysels, cytheth he
 wyl gyue a syght of a wifl she. In all voluntary thynges
 I denue not, but that one may be vertuous: but in natu-
 ral thynges, I confesse euery man to be weake. Whan ye
 take the wood fro the fyre, it leueth brennyng: whan ha somet
 cometh, the cold wynter ceaseth: whan the see is caulme, the
 waues leaue they; vehement mouyng: whan the sonne is
 sette, it beshyneth not the wold. I wyl say that than, and
 not before, the fleshe wyl cesse to pepyn vs, whan it is layd
 in the graue. Of the fleshe we are borne, and in the fleshe
 we lyue, and in the flesh we shall dye, and therby it folo-
 geth, that our good lyfe shall sooner ende than our fleshe.
 Oftentymes some holosome fleshe for meate corrupteth in
 an unholosome potte: and good wyne somtyme sauoureteth
 of the foyste. I say, though that the werkes of our lyfe be
 vertuous: yet shall we feale the stench of the weake flesh.
 I say this faulyn, syth age can not resist the hote enter-
 pise, howe can the tender membris of youth resist it: you
 being the mother, without you go the right way, she being
 your doughter can not go the same way. The Romayne
 matrones, if they wyl nourish they; doughters welought
 to kepe these tules. Whan they se, that they wolde goo a-
 bode, than breke they; legges: and yf they wold be gasing
 than put out they; eies, and yf they wyl harke, stoppe their
 ears: yf they wyl gyue of take, cut of they; handes: yf they
 dare speke, loke vp their mouthes: and yf they wyl entend
 any lyghtnes, bury their quicke. Wordes ought to be gy-
 ven to an yll doughter: and in stede of presences and gyf-
 tes at her weddynge, gyue her twomes: and for her hous, a
 graue. Take heide faulynge, yf you wyl haue great ioy of
 your doughter, take fro her the occasyons, wherby she shall
 be pille. To vndersette a hous, behoueth dyuers poppes:

Ind

And yf p̄ncipalles be taken awaie, hit wylle falle downe.
 I wyl tell you, wommenne are so fraple, that with ke-
 pers with greate payne, they can kepe them selfe: and for
 a small occasion, they wyllose altogether. O how manye
 yll hath there ben, not bycause they wolde be so, but by
 cause they folowed suche occasyons, the whiche they
 ought to haue eschewed. It is for me to entre into this bat-
 tayle, but yet it is not in me to attayne the victorie. It is
 for me to entre into the see, yet it lyeth not in my handes
 to escape the perylle. It is in the handes of a woman to
 entre into the occasyon, and after that she is therin, hit is
 not in her handes to delyuer her from faute.

Chowe the emperour counsayld Faustyne, to eschue
 yll occasyons fro her doughter. Cap. xxxvi.



Traduenture Faustyne ye wyl say to me,
 that none may speke to your doughter Lu-
 cylle, but yf you here hit: noȝ se her, but in
 your syghte, noȝ hyde her, but you knowe
 where: noȝ make none appointment, with-
 out your knowledge. And atte this houre
 you knowe not, that they that do hate her, and wold her pl-
 what dishonoure they; tongues do speake of her. Newe
 loue in yonge bloudde in the sp̄yngyng tyme and floury-
 shynge youthe, is a poyson, that forthwith spreaddereth in to
 every vayne: It is an herbe, that by and by entreteth the en-
 crayfles: a swowning, that incontynently mortifieth al the
 membris, & a pestilence, that sleeth the hartes: and finally
 it maketh an ende of all vertues. I wote not what I sape
 yet, al though I know what I wyl say: for I wold ne-
 uer blasen loue with my tonge, without I were sore hurtte
 in myn vnderstandinge. Ouyde sayth in his boke of the
 art

arte of loue. Loue is I wote not what : that commeth I wote not whens : who sente it I wote not : it engendreth I wote not how : it is contented I wote not wherwith : it is felte I wote not howe ofte, nor I wote not wherfore. And synally loue taketh rote without breakyng of the fleshe outwarde, or perciunge the entrayles inwarde. I wote not what Quide meanet hereby : but I wote whan he saide these wordes, he was as farre banayshed from hem selfe, as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O faulstyn, they that loue together shewe the signes of they hartes by dpuers wapes, and in sleppnge they reason and speke: and by synnes they understande eche other. The great voyce outwarde is sygne of lyttell loue inwarde : and the great inwarde loue keþeth silence outwarde. The entrayles within imbraced in loue, cause the tongue outwarde to be muet. He that passeth his lyfe in loue, ought to haue his mouth close. And to the entente that ye shall not thynke, that I speake fables, I wyl proue this by auncient hystories.

Whiche fynde aunciently, that in the yere. C. and. ix. after the foundacion of Rome, Estrasco a yonge Romayne that was dombe, And Ceronne a fayre lady of the Latins, that was dombe also. These two saue eche other on the mout Celyoit at a feest, and there fel in loue eche with other. And their hartes were as soone fixed in loue, as they tonges were tyed fro wordes. It was a meruaylous thing to se them, and fayful to note here. The yonge lady came fro Salon to Rome : and he went fro Rome to Salon, by the space of. xxx. yeres togyþer without the wityng of any persone, nor the two speake not. Than at the laste died the husbande of the lady Ceronne, and the wyfe of Estrasco, and than they discouered their loue, and treated a mariage betwene them, of whome descended the noble lygnage of our Scipions : whiche were moze lyberalle in the feates

of armes, than they; father and mother were in their tonges. Than Faustine marke this thyng : Lyttell aduantage it had ben to haue cutt out the tonges of the two dumb folkes, to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cutt out they; hattes.

Also I shall telle you of Massinissa a worthy knyght of Numedie, and Sophatise a famous ladye of Cartilage, al onely by one sight, as they sawe eche other on a ladder, he declared his desire unto her: and she knowyng his lust, breakyng the oozes of feare, and lyftynge vp the ankers of shame, incontinent raised the sayles of they; hattes, and with the shippes of their persons, they soyned eche to other. Here may we gather, how the first sight of their eies, and knowledge of they; persons, and the leage of they; hattes, and the mariage of they; bodies, & the perdition of they; estates, and the infamye of they; name, in one day, in one houre, in one moment, and in one steppe of a ladder were agreed. What wylt pe that I say more to this pourpose? Doye not knowe that Helayne the Greke, and Parys the Troyan, of two strange nations and of farre countreys, with one only syght in a temple, they; wylles were so knyt togither, that he tooke her as his captiue, and she aboode his prisonet. In Parys appered but smal force, and in her but lyttel resistance. So that in maner these two yonge persons, the one procuring to vanquysh her, and the other sufferringe to be vanquyshed, Parys was cause of his fathers deathe: and Helayne of they; infamye of her husbande, and they bothe of they; owne deathes, losse to they; realmes, and scandauper to all the wold. All this loue caused one onely syght.

Whan gerat kyng Alexander wold haue gyuen bataile to the Amazons, the quene capitayn of them no lesse fayre than stronge and vertuous, came to a ryuer syde, and the

space

space of an houre eche of them beheld other with thynges
without speakeynge of any wrode, and whan they retourt-
ned to their tentes, the fiersnes was turned into swete wan-
ton amorous wordes.

Whan Pyrrhus the faythesfull defender of the Catency-
nes, and renoumed kyng of Epirotes, was in Italye, he
came to Naples, and he had not ben there but one day, the
same season there was a lady in the same citie named Ga-
malicie of a highe lygnage, and greatly esteemed in beau-
tie: The very same day she was gotten with chylde and sha-
med through out all Italy, and was truste out of the citie,
and after she was deluyced of chylde, she was slayne, by
one of her owne bretherne.

Also Cleopatra in the province of Bithynie, in the wod
Schyn, made a goodly banquet or solempne feast to Marc-
us Anthonus her louer. And toughe she was not very
honest, yet had she with her right chaste women: and thus
the banquet enduryng a great part of the nyghte, and the
wod beunge thicke, the yonge damselis were not so wily to
hyde them, but the yonge men Romayns founde them: so
that of .lx. doughters of senatours .lv. were gotten with
chylde among the thyckes bushes: which thyng made a gret
scandale in the people, and augmented the infamy of Cleo-
patre, and minished the honestie of Marc Anthony.

Thus as I haue shewyd of a smal nombre, I coude say
of many other. All men are not men, nor all women be not
women. I say it bycause I wode it shulde be sayde: let it
touche them that it toucheth, and let them that can, vnder-
stantande me. There is some shypes, that are so lyghte, that
they wyl sayle with a lytell wynde, and there be some mil-
les that wyl gronde with a lyttel water. I saye there be
some women so brittel, that as a glasse with a syllow wyl
breke, and wyl shyp with a lytel myre. Shewe me faustus,

¶.ii.

haue

haue you suffered your daughter to speke but with her bnes,
 and kept compaunce but with her cosins? I say in this
 case as moche wilenesse hath the mother as the daughter
 to renne in peryll. Do you not knowe, that the quycke fire
 doth not forbere the wood be it wete or drye, but in lykewyse
 it consumeth the harde stones? Do you not knowe, that
 the hongre excessive causeth beastes to denour with they
 tethe the thyng that was bidden in they entrayles? Do
 you not knowe, that the goddes made a lawe ouer all thin
 ges: except on louers, bycause they may not abyde it? And
 doubtlesse it is ryghtwysly done, that Rome condemneth
 not these folyshe innocentes, bycause they haue none un
 derstanding. The goddes gyue no pena to amorous peo
 ple, bycause they are deprivued fro reason. ye knowe whan
 I was censure, there was a yonge woman that had a child
 by her owne fathert, and an other that had a chylde by her
 sonne, and a niese by her propre uncle: and there was sen
 tence gyuen on them, that the fathers shulde be caste to the
 lyons, and the chyldyn buried quicke, and the mothers
 were brennte in the campe of Mars. The mattier was soo
 horible to here, that I myghte not endure to se the cursed
 men. And I comandement by my deccres, that none shulde
 be so bolde to speake in such a case any moxe. And yf this
 case were fearefull to men, than certaynely the Romayne
 matrones oughte to lyue chastely. Than yf the syre of the
 fathert doo chauke the daughter, enflameth bynfolke, and
 bournie theym selfe: ye maye be sicke, yf he fynde after ey
 ther consyn or fayre sister, the flames of his concupiscence
 wyll not leaue to take holde on her for any parentage. If
 this riotous fleshe wyll obey reason, than it maye be, that
 your daughter may speake liberally with her cosins: but
 syth that passion repugneth so moche at reason, I councel
 you trust not to moche in her bretterne. you set by expert
 ence

me: that the wodme that is b̄edde in the tymbre, eateth
the same tymbre: and the moother that are b̄edde in the
clothes, eateth the same clothe. I saye that sommetyme a
man b̄yngeth vp in his house some persone, that after eat-
keth his lyfe fro hym. Faustine take this that I haue sapd
for a warnynge, and these last wodes I gyue you for coun-
cell. If you wyll kepe your selfe from thoughte, and your
doughter fro petyll, alwaye let your doughter be occupied
with some good werkis. Whan the handes are occupied
with any good exercise, than the harte is b̄oyde fro many
ydel and bayne thoughtes. Every lightnes done in youth
breaketh downe a loope of the defcne of our lyfe: but y-
delnesse, wherby our enuye entreth, is it, whiche openeth
the gate to al vices. Faustine wyll you wite: I se dely the
pardon of the yong Romayn doughters. So, as sone as
they be borne, they presumento be amorous: they as vni-
thoughtfull, with the fechelesnes of the fader, and wan-
tonnes of the mother, leue the iust trauayle, and take vni-
wist ydelnes. Of ydel motion and outragious thoughtes
the eies take licēce without leue, the mynde altereth, and
the wyll is hurtis: and finally thyngynge to be the whyte,
that amorous men shote at, they remayne as a butte ful of
al vices. And in conclusion there is nothyng that more re-
chaceth the baile of the thought (in this playe) thanne the
hande settē a wōke therwith.

¶ What thought Marcus the emperour take for the
marriage of his doughters. ca. xxxviii.

Than the good emperour Marc hauyng a clert
understanding, and a quiete wytte, toke ryghte
great heede of thynges that were past, prudently
waynginge thynges present, & thynges to come.

¶. iii.

Seynge

Seeing that the p[ri]ncipalit[er] of p[ri]ncis, lay all in wyl, totally
 gyuunge them selfe eyther to strange thynges, forgettynge
 they; owne, or els to intend to they; owne, notyng regar-
 dyng strange thynges. His hatt was so agreeable to hym,
 that neyther the lyghe busynesses of them : nor for all the
 affayres of his house, he wold not leaue one of them pyx
 vnsped. I say this, bycause this emperour Marcus had
 foure dhoughters, whose names were Lucille, Moysena,
 Matryna and Domptia. All resembled they; mother in ex-
 cellent beautie, but they resembled not they; fathet in ho-
 nestie and vertuousnes. And though they were in gouer-
 nance vnder they; maystresses out of his p[re]sence, yet he
 had them always in memorie: and the elder they were, the
 more study and thought he toke for them: and when they
 cam to cōplete age, he studped to synd p[ro]vision for them.
 It was a laudable custome, that the doughters of the of-
 fycers of the Senate, shulde not marye withoute lycence,
 nor the emperours doughters without the adupsement of
 the senate. Than it was so, that one of the sayd p[ri]ncesses
 his doughters, beyng of aye, and of wyll to be marped,
 her fathet seyng her importunytie, to accomlyshe her de-
 syre, bycause he was speke, he sente for Faustyne, that she
 shulde goo and commune in the senate. The whyche with
 all her power she wylde stode, bycause that secretly she had
 treated for an oþer marpage for her doughter. And open-
 ly she excused her selfe, sayinge, that her doughter was to
 yonge and tender of aye: and as the goddys had gauen
 age sufficient to the fathet, so had not the doughter of yeres
 Whan the emperour vnder stode this, he called Faustyne
 to his bedde syde, where as he lay, and sayd: D[omi]n[u]m thynges
 are dyssimuled in particuler persons, the least of them
 is not to be suffred in the that shuld ensigne all oþer: The
 p[ri]nce is never well obeyed, but þ[er] he haue good credence
 amoung

among his people. I say this fauſtin, þþcause you do one thinge in ſecrete, and ſay an other openly. Herein faileth the credence of ſo high a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auſtoritie of ſo great an empere. If ye ſuppoſe my good deſyres be ſinifer in your hart for the welth of your owne chyldren: howe ſhulde we hope then in any of your good workes fo; the chyldren of ſtranglers. It ſemeth to you better, to gyue your daughter to them that demand hit of the mother, and refuſe them that the father doth chufe. Certainly þþcause ye be a woman, you deſerue pardon: but in that you are a mother, you augment your fault. Do you not knowe, that matrages are gypded ſomme by fortune, and ſome by beſtiaſ and wiſedome? Suche as deniande the daughters of the fathers, beſtiaſ me, they; eyes beina moore vpon they; owne propre beuty, than vpon the welth of an other. I knowe wellie, you þþnge fo; the chyldren, but the goddes wiſh marþ them, ſithe they haue endeuored them with ſo metuaplong beuty. Do you not knowe, that the beautee of women ſetth ſtranglers on deſire, and putteth neyghbours in ſuſpicion, to great men; gyueth force, to meane men enuye, to the parentes infa- mie, and peryll to the persone ſelfe. With great peyne it is kepte that is deſired of many. Of trouthe I ſay the beautee of women is notyng but a ſygne for ydell folke: and an erly wakyng for them that be lyghte: where as of the ſtrange deſyres lieth the renome of them ſelf. And I deny not but that a light person ſetth ſomme a woman with a faire face than one of honest hirung: But I ſay, that a wo- man, that is married only fo; her beautee, may hope in her age to haue a ſorwelyfe. It is an infaſtible rule, that ſhe that was married fo; her fairenesſe, is hated fo; her ſowle- neſſe. O what traunale he oftech hym ſelue into, that mar- eth a faire woman! He behoueth hym to ſuſſice her þþde,

for beautie and foly alway go togyther. Also he must suffice her expences. So; folke in the heed, and beautie in the face bene two woxnes, that stree the lyfe, and wasteth the goodes. Also he must suffice her spottes, so; a fayre woman wyll that none but she haue her commaundementes in the house. Also he must suffice her nyce mynionnesse, so; every fayre woman wyll passe her lyfe in pleasure: Also he must suffice her p̄esumption, so; every fayre woman wyll haue preeminence before all other. Finally he that marieith with a fayre woman, aparsaileth hym to a ryght great aduertise: and I shall tell you whetsoe. Surely Cartilage was never so enuyzonned with Scipions, as the house of a faire woman is with lyghte persones. O unhappy husbande, when his spirite is at rest, and the body sleeping, than these lyght persones wyll come about his house, dwyng his body with celousy, castynge theyre eyes to the wyndowes, scalynge the walles with ladders, or clyminge ouer, syngynge sweet songes, playeng on divers instrumentes, watching at the gates, tretinge with handes, vncouertynge the house, & waitynge at every corner therof. All these thynges, in case they shote at the p̄ycke of the womans beautie, they leue not to shote at the butte of the sorowfull husbandes good name. And whether this be true or not, repose me to my self, that maried me with your beautie: and let them write of my renome that go so aboute the cyte. I say moche, but truely I fele moze. No man complayneth of the goddes for grytynge hym a fowle wyfe, amone his besynnes. No hys syluer is not wroughte but in blache p̄ytche: and the tenter tree is not conserued but by the harde tynde. I say the man that marieith a fowle wyfe, ledeth a lute lyfe, lette every man chuse as he lyfeth: and I say a man that marieith a fayre wyfe, casteth his good name at hazard, and putteth his lyfe in peryl, All the infamy of our p̄edecessours God

none excepçyng of dedes of armes: and noþe all the
wylþe of the Romayne yowþis to serue ladyes. Soþ han
þe þoman is famed to be fayþe, than euþy man goeth thy-
þer, and taketh great payne to serue her, and the women
woll be sene. I saye Faustine, you never sawe a yonge da-
moyſel Romayne, greatly renoumed in beautie, but either
þe dede or in suspition there folowed somþil name of her.
In that lytell that I haue redde, I haue harde of dyuers
þe women, boþe of Grece, Itaþ, Parþe, and Rome:
and they be not put in remembraunce, bycause they were
fayþe, but for the greate þeyllies and heþy chaunces that
þeþyþ beauties felle in the wþolde. Soþ in maner by rea-
son of their excellente beauties they were vysited in theyþ
owne landes: and by theyþ infamyþ shamed throughe all
the wþolde.

Soþ han the realme of Carthage was flouryþyng in
þybes and happy in armes, they ruled the common welþe
by wylþe philosophers, and susteyned it by dyscretiþ armes
on the see. Arminius the philosopher was as greatly este-
med amonge them, as Homer amonge the greekes, or Ci-
cero amonge the Romaynes: he lyued in this wþolde syþe
þeþre peres and.ii. Of the whiche happy age.lxxx. yeres he
wiled quietly as a baron moþe þeasible of mynd: and was
as straunge to women, as familiar with his boþes. Than
þe Senate seyng he was so þroken with the common welþe,
and withdrawen from all naturalle recreations, they desti-
nabym with greate inþaunce to be maried, bycause that
memorþ myght be had of so þeyll a wylþe man in tyme
to come: and the moþe impotunias they were the moþe he
wiled, and sayd, I wyll not be maried: for þeþ be þoule,
I shall abhorþ her: þeþ be tyche, I muste suffre her: þeþ
þeþ be poore, I must maynteyn her: þeþ be fayþe, I must
take her to her: þeþ be a shewe, I can not suffre her:

¶ and

And the leaste pestylence of all these, is sufficient to slay
M. men. With suchewordes this wyse man excused hym
selfe: and he in his aye, by reason of his great studie, lost
his syghte. And the solytaries of his swete syberties con-
stayed hym to take company of a woman, and she had by
him a daughter, of whom descended the noble Amilcar
of Carthage, cōpetitors of the Scipions of Rome, the
whiche shewed no lesse worthynesse in defēce of Carthage,
than ours were fortunate to augment Rome.

Co Tell me Faustine, may not such suspicion fall vpon
your daughters, though they; vertue succout in the pery
and they; honestie assure they; persons? I wyll dyscover a
secrete thyngē to you. There is nothyngē, that can be so
quyckely commytted, yf a womanne be enuyzonned with
chast kepers and feminine shamefastnes. Steadfastly they
desyre, and with great leysure they; procure these thyngēs,
that lyghtly may be attayned. There is nothyngē soo
tayne, but that the welth of an other is matter for the owne
cupill. And Faustine ye knowe, that the moost honest wo-
menne, by out malycie are mooste desp̄ed. Certaynely they;
shamefastnes and keppynge close, ben arowes in defēce of
our honestie. We rede not that bludde, ryches, no; beautie
of the vnhappy matrons Lucrece was the cause, that she
was desired: But the clerenes of her visage, the grauitie of
her person, the putenesse of her lyfe, the keppynge of hym self
close in her house, the exercyce of her tyme, the credence
amonge her neyghbours, and the great renoume that she
hadde amonge straungers, waked the foole sye Tarquine
to commytte with her aduoultre by force. What thyngē
you? Wherof came this? I shall shewe you. We that be
ȳll, are so ȳll, that as ȳll we vse the goodnes of them that
be good. This is no faute to the ladies of Rome, but ra-
ther in the immortall goddis. They; cleane honestie accu-
seth

Without our cruel malice. Faustine, you say, your daughter is
to ponge to be matied. Do you not knowe, that the good
father ought to endocryne his sonnes fro they; poung age:
and to prouide for his daughters whiles they be ponge.
Of a trouthe, of the fathers be fathers, and the mothers
mothers, as sone as the goddes haue gyuen them a dough
for, so;th with they ought to syre in they; hartes a newe re-
membraunce: and not for;gette it, till they haue pronyded
they; doughter an husbande. The fathers ought not to ta-
ke for;tyches, nor; the moder for; hygh lygnage, the better to
marie them: So what with the one & the other, the tyme
passeth, and the daughters ware aeged: and than after
this maner they be to olde to be matied: and to abyde a-
lone, they be maydens: and to serue, they be women, they
haue in peyne, the fathers in thought, the patentes in su-
spection, least they shuld be lost. O what great ladies haue
I knownen, doughters of great senatours, and not for; fau-
styches, nor; of vertues in they; persons, but all only for;
lacke of tyme, and dywypnge of one houre to an other, so
that at laste soddyn deth came to the fathers, and no prou-
idence made for; the doughters: So that in maner some
were couerted vnder the erthe after they; deathe, and some
burned with for;getfullnesse. Cyther I lye, or; I haue redde
in the lawe of the Rodiens, where as it is wryten, we com-
maunde the father in matieng. i. sonnes, to trauaple but
one daye: but to matye oone vertuous doughter, let hym
trauaple. i. yeres, pe a suffre the water come to the mouth,
sweate droppes of blood, trauaple the stomake, dishercite
all his sonnes, lose his goddes, and aduenture his person.
These wordes in this law were pitiefull for; the doughters
not lesse greuous to the sonnes. For, i. sonnes by þ lawe
of men are bound to discouer, & to go ouer al the world: but
doughter, by þ good law ought not to go out of þ hous.

¶.ii.

I say

I say more ouer, that as thinges vnstable th;ete fallyng,
so lyke wyse it chaunseth to yonge damselles, whiche thin-
keth all they; tyme loste and superflououse vnto the daye of
they; mariage. Homere sayth, it was the custome of ladies
of Grece, to counte the yeres of they; lyfe, not fro the tyme
of they; byrth, but from the tyme of they; mariage. As ye
one demaunded of a Grecian her age, she wolde aunswere
xx. yeres, yf it were. xx. yeres syth she was maried: though
it were. ix. yeres syth she was borne. Iffirmyng after they
hadde a house to gouerne and to commaunde, that day she
begynneth to lyue. The Melon after it is ripe, and aby-
deth syll in the gardeyn, can not scape, but eyther rotteþ,
or elles must be gathered. I say the mayden that tarþeth
longe, till she be maried, can not escape, eyther to be taken
or infamed. I wyll say no mo;e. As soone as the grapes
be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessa-
ry, that the woman that is come to perfyte age, be maried
and kept. And the father, that doth this, casteth peryll out
of his house, and bryngeth hym selfe out of thoughte, and
contenteth well his doughter.

COf a syckenes wherof the Emperour died, of his
age, and where he dyed. cap. LXXXI.



Artus the Emperour beyng olde, not onyl
by age, but by trauaple and great paynes that
he had taken and suffred in warres. In the
xviii. yere of his emprise, and. Iiii. yere of his
age, and of the foundation of Rome. vi. C.
and. xl. as he was in Panomp, now called Hungarie, with
his hoste, and Commodo his sonne, at a citie called Wen-
debone, situate vpon a riuere, that had. iii. M. syxe houses
and beyng in wynter, and the waters great, & very weate
wether

wether, he beinge in the feldes about the .xx. day of De-
cember: sodaynly vpon a nyghte as he wente with lanter-
nes about his campe, there toke hym a syckenese or palsey
in one of his armes, so that he coude not weld his speare,
nor yet drawe his swerde, nor put on his owne clothes.

Than this good emperour charged with yeres, and with
noo lesse thoughtes, and wþter increasynge with manye
great snowes, and flesynge of the erthe, there felle on hym
an other malady called Lytarge, the whiche put the Bar-
bariens in great hardines, and his hoste in greatt heuy-
nes, his persons in peryll, and his frendes in great suspect
of his helthe. There was done to hym all the experiance
that coude be founde by medicins as vnto great pryncis
and lordes is accustomed. And all dyd hym no profyte: by
reason the maladye was greuous, and the emperour char-
ged with yeres, and the ayre of the lande was contrarie
to hym, and the tyme helped hym notynge: and also he
was not well intended. And as men of wþshyppe do sette
more by theyz honour than by theyz lyues, and had rather
dye with honour, thanne lyue dishonoured, to assure theyz
honour, they aduenture euery houre theyz lyues, and had
leauer haue one houer of honour, than a .C. yeres of lyfe:
So thus this sickle emperour, caused hym selfe to be boþne
all about his campe, and went to see the scarmyshes, and
wold slepe in the feldes: the whiche was not without great
peryll of his lyfe, nor without great tauaylle of his per-
son. Thus on a day the emperour, beinge in a great feuer
and letten bloudde, harde a great clamour or noyse in the
fielde: made by his men that had brought home great qua-
ntite of forrage, and theyz enemites sette on theym, to res-
cue it: there was medlynge on boþe parties, the one to
beare a way, and the other to defende: The Romaynes for-
hungre, dyd what they coulde, to beare it a waye: And the

Hungaryens fro whence it came, made resystance: They medled so one with an other, and they; debate was so cruell, that there was slayne. v. capitaynes of the Romaynes, the most of them was more worthe, than all the fourage that they had won. And of the Hungariens were so many slayne, that all the fourage that they had loste, was not so moche worth. Certainly considerynge the crueltie that was there done, the profyte that came therby, was very small to the Romayns, so that there went but a fewe awaye with the fourage, & of the Hungariens fewe was lefte to make resystance. The emperour synghe the yll ordre, and that by the reason of his bloudde lettynge and feuer, he was not present at that acte, he toke suche a heuynge at his harte, wherby he fell into suche a traunce, that it was thought he had ben deade: and so he lay. iii. nyghtes and two dayes, that he coude se no lyght of the skye, nor speake to any persone. The heate of his syckenes was greatte, and his peynes greater, he dranke moche and eate lyttelle, he coulde not slepe, his face was yelowe, and his mouthe blacke. Somtyme he lyfted vp his eies, & oftentymes ioyned his handes together: He spake nothynge, and syghed many tymes. His throte was soo drye, that he coulde not spytt; his eies were verye soote with sobbynge and wepynge. It was greatte compasyon to see his deathe, and a greate plague of confusyon to his howse, and also the very greate losse of his warre. There durste no manne looke vpon hym, and fewe speake to hym. Banutius his Secreta-
rye, sozowynge at his harte, to see his mayster so neare his deathe, on a nyght in the presence of dyuers other that were there, he sayde to hym.

C The wodes of Banutius his secretary to the emperour at the houre of his deathe, Cap. xi.

¶ Mat.



Marcus my lord, there is no tongue that can
 be shyll, no; any harte suffre, no; eyes dissimule,
 no; wytte that can permitt it. My bloudde
 congeleth, and my sinewes drye, the stones ope-
 nethe, and my sowle wolde passe forthe: the
 toynes unioyne asondet, and mi spirites are troubled, by-
 cause you take not the wylle and sage counsell, the whiche
 ye gaue to other that were symple. I see you my lord dye,
 and I oughte for to be soore displeased therwith. The so-
 rowe that I fele at my harte is, how you haue lyued lyke a
 wylle persone, and at this houre you do lyke a symple man.
 Tenne yere a knyght gyeueth meate to his horse, to thentet
 that he shulde kepe hym from peryll: and all that the wylle
 man studieth for a longe season, oughte to be to passe his
 lyfe with honour, and to take his death with great vertue.
 Kynghe dere lord, I demaunde of you, what prouffytte is it
 to the mariner to knowe the carde of the see, and after to
 peryshe in a tourment of tempest? What prouffytte is it
 to a capitayne, to speake moche of warre, and after knowe
 not howe to gyue battayle? What profyteth it to a knyght,
 to haue a good horse, and to falle in the strete? What pro-
 fyteth it one to teache an other the playne wye, and hym
 selfe to wander asyde? I saye, what profyted it the force of
 your lyfe, that you esteemed so lyttelle, many tymes see-
 kyng your deathe? And at this present howe, that you
 haue founde deathe, you wepe, bycause it wyl take awaye
 your lyfe, what thynges haue I wryten with myne owne
 hande, beynge your Secretarye, drypysed by your hyghe
 and profounde understandyng, touchyng the stocke of
 deathe? What thyng was it to se the letter, that you sent
 Claudine vpon the deathe of her husbande? What wrote
 you to Anchrygone, whan your sonne Verissimus dyede
 wherin your vertue dydde consolata his heuinesse. What
 hygh

highe thynges dyd I wryte in the boke that you sent to the
 Senate, in the yere of the great pestylence : confortynge
 them after the great mortalitie passed: therin you dydde
 shewe them, howe lyttell men shulde sette by deth, & what
 profyte foloweth therby. And I haue scene and harde pon
 blason deth in your lyfe, and nowe you wepe, as thought
 you shulde lyue here syll. Wyth that the goddis comande
 it, and your age requyret it, & your sycknes is the cause,
 and nature permitteth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and
 is the fatall destenie of vs all, than you muste nedes dye.
 The trauayles that come of necessarie, ought with a good
 courage to be abyden. For the couragious feeleth nat soo
 soore the harde strokes, as the weake that falleth, or he be
 foughthen with. you are but one man, and not two: and
 ye ought to haue oone deathe and not two. Therfore whi
 wolde ye for one lyfe haue two dethes, enterynge the bo-
 dy, and slaynge the spirite with syghes? After so many pe-
 cyles of longe lyfe to take a sure porre, wyl ye lyfpe vp the
 saples, and entre agayne into the swalowe of the see, for to
 engloutte you? In the see you haue chased the bulle, and
 scaped his woodnes, and nowe ye refuse to entre into the
 parke, wher you maye surely selle hym. you make assaute
 with victorie of your lyfe, and wyl dye atteynynge the deth.
 you haue foughthe. lxi. yeres in the campe of myserie, and
 nowe you feare to entre into your sepulchre: you haue got
 out of the busshes and thornes, wherin you were closed:
 and nowe at this houre you stomble in the fayne waye: you
 haue had in certayne the damage of your death: and nowe
 ye put in double the profyte of your death: you are entred
 into the campe of defyenge of the wold: and nowe you
 wolde tourne your backe, whan it is tyne to putte your
 handes to armes. Lxii. yere you haue foughthe agaynst
 fortune: and nowe you cloose your eyes, bycause fortune
 wyl

myl strike you. I say it, bycause that willyngly you refuse
 this present deth, the whiche wyll cause vs, to haue your
 lyfe passed suspect. what do you, hygh and myghty p̄nce?
 why wepe you like a chylde? & why sygh you, as one in dy-
 spaunce? if you wepe, because ye shal die, why dyd you laugh
 so moche in your lyfe tyme? for of moche laughynge in
 the lyfe tyme, cometh moche wepyng at the deth. wyll you
 do that you can not do, and not be content with that you
 may do. The grounde and pasture, that is common, you
 wolde ioyne to your owne, the tenowme of the common
 welthe you applyed to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy
 oþ loue, you wolde make your perpetuall ryghte. I wylle
 shewe you who be deed. All be deed and shall dye. And a-
 monge all other you wolde all onely lyue. wyll ye haue
 that of the goddes, that they be goddis for? That is, by-
 cause you are mortall, that they make you immortall. And
 you to haue that by p̄iuilege, whiche they haue by nature.
 I that am but symple, demaunde one thynge of you my
 lord, that are auncient and wyse: whiche is the greatestis
 oþ least welthe, to dye well oþ lyue yll? To lyue welle noo
 man can attayne certaynele, for hungre, thyrist, solitarines,
 persecution, yll fortune, sycknesse, and disfauours. This
 can be called no lyfe, but rather a deth. If an ancient man
 wolde make a shewe and booste of his lyfe, from the tyme
 of his byþthe, to the layenge in his graue, and the bodye
 to shewe all that it hath suffred by dolours, and the harte
 to discouer all the strokes of fortune. I thynke, that the
 goddis wolde haue maruaple therof, and men wolde be
 abashed therof, that the body coude suffre so moche, and
 the harte beare it. I holde the Grekes wisest, whiche wepe,
 whan they chyldren are boþne, and they syng, whan an
 olde man dyeth: but the Romaynes syng at the byþthe of
 they chyldren, and wepe whan they dye olde. Certaynly

M A R C V S

To laughe at the deth of them, that die olde, sith they dye to
laugh: and to wepe at the byzth of chyldren, syth they are
borne to wepe, and that the lyke abydeth the sentence of pl,
proueth well, that the deathe is good. Wyll you, that
I saye one veritie to you? I haue alwayes seene, that cog-
sell in the wysest man, sonest fayleth hym. Much as woldes
gouerne al thinges, by they; opinōs, of necessitie in some,
or in the most parte, they do erre and fayle. O Matc my
dere lorde, wene you, that haue caused to burye soo ma-
ny, that some shulde not burye you in lykewyse? And you
haue seene the ende of they; dayes, so other shal se the ende
of your yeres. Therfore me semeth, it were better for you
to dye, and to go your waye, to atterne soo moche welthe,
than to scape, and to lyue in so moche mystry. If you fele
deathe, I haue no meruayle, sythe you be a man. But I
meruayle, that you do not dissimule it, sythe you are dys-
crete. They that haue clere vnderstandinge, seele many
thynges at they; harte, that putteth them to peyne, which
they shewe not outward, for the p;resumption of honour.
If al the poyson, that is in a heuy harte, were spred ab;ode
in the weake fleshe by smalle greynes, noo walles shulde
suffysse vs to rubbe, nor our nayles to scratche. For certain
ly the deathe is but a playe, wherin the player, if he be apt,
aduentureth but lyttell, to wynne moche: and they that
play, may se wel, that this is a wyly play, and not a strong.
And that also, as well they lese, that haue but a small card,
not fearynge deth, as they, that with a grattē carde, loue
long lyfe. What thyng is deth, but a trappe doze, wherin
the tent is closed, in the whiche is solde, all the miseries of
our lyfe? This the goddis do change vs, fro an olde filthy
house, into a newe. And what other thyng is the sepulchre,
but a castelle, wherin we be closed agaynt the assautes of
the lyfe? Of trouth you ought moze to couete, to take that
you

you find at your deth, than the hurte of that you shall leue in your lyfe. I demande of you, what it is that dothe you most peyne, in lesyng of the lyfe? If you peyn your self, soz Helie Fabrice your wyfe, bycause you leaue her yonge, we ry not your self, soz she is wel thought on in Rome, soz any peryll of your lyfe. And as sone as she knoweth it, I am in certayne, she wyll not wepe moche, though you go your way. Thā you ought not to wepe, soz leuyng of her. These yong damoysels, maried to olde men, haue euer theyz eyes fixed in the deth of theyz husbādes. And holly fasten their hartes on hym, that they thynk, to mary with ageyn. They wepe with theyz eyes, & laughe in theyz hartes. And thinks not contrari, though she be an empresse, and can not fynde an other emperour, to be her husbānde, yet she wyll fynde some other man. Soz yf they be so determyned, they wyll change theyz robes of sylke, soz a gowne of clothe. I dare well saye, they moze desyze a yonge sheparde, than an olde emperour. If you care soz your chyldren, whome ye muste leaue behinde you: I can not tell, why you shuld do so. Soz if your deth be displeasant to them, moch moze displeaseth them, þ you lyue so longe. It is great peyn to the chuld, not to desire the deth of his father: Soz yf he be pooze, it is soz feare, how they shuld be mayntained: yf he be rych, then by cause he shalbe his heire. They syng & you wepe, you fere the deth, & wepe, bycause you leaue your life. Do you not know, þ after the night cometh the dewy mornyng: & after þ cometh the byyghe son: & after þ son cometh a deth cloud, and after ageyn cometh faire wether, & after that cometh lightnyng & thondre: & than agayn clere ayre. Also I say, that after infancy, cometh chyldhode, thā cometh youtch, & age after that, and so at laste cometh deth, and after deth, fearefull hope, of a sure lyfe. Sir, beleue me, in one thyng. The beginning, the meane, and the ende euery man hath.

Certaynly, yf you had ben take as the floure fro the herbe: if you had ben cut grene fro the tree, yf you had ben grased in p;ymetyme: if you had ben eaten in the sowernes of the byne: I meane, if in the sy;ste youthe, whan lyfe was at the swerest, if dethe had come and knocked at the gate, ye shulde haue had cause to be so; y: but as nowe, the walles are weake and redye to falle, and the floure wythered, and the bery puttified, the speare full of mosse, and canne not drawe the knyfe out of the shethe. Herein you haue desired the wold, as yf you had neuer knownen the wold. Lxit. yere you haue ben p;isoner in the dongeon of the bo;dy: a now whan the shakles or gyues shulde be taken from you, you complayne: you lord wold make newe of other newes. He that thinketh it not sufficent, to lyue. lxii. yeres in this dethe, or to dye in this lyfe, he wyll not be contente with thre score thousande.

Auguste the Emperour sayde, that after that men had lyued. i. yeres, they ought to dye, or els cause them selfe to be slayne, bycause that vnto that tyme, is the felycite of man. He that lyueth beyonde that tyme, passeth his tymes in heuynesse, in greuous aches, deathe of his chyldeyn, and losse of his goodes, in unþortunitiis of his chyldeyn in lawe, bryngenge of his frendes, susteynyng p;ocesse, payenge of dettes, and other infinite trauayles: So that it were better, with his eyen cloosed to abyde theym in his graue, thanne with his eyen open, to abyde theym in his lyfe dayes. Certaynly it is a fortune of all fortunes, and he is ryght priuie with the goddes, that at. i. yere, leaueth his lyfe. for al the time that he liueth after, is in decayeng and neuer bryghe, but tollyng, relyng, and redy to fall. **O** Marc my dere lord, do you not know, that by the same way, that lyfe goþe, cometh dethe. It is. lxii. yere that ye haue soughte the one from the other. And whan ye wente fro

to Rome, where as you lefte your howse, ye wente to Il-
rike, where you lefte a greate pestylence: and nowe you
are retourned into Hungarie. Do you not knowe, that as
soone as you were boone, to gouerne the erthe, incontinent
deathe issued out of his sepulchre, to fynde your lyfe? And
if you haue hono;ed ambassadours of the straunge kyn-
ges, moche moxe ye oughte to honour deathe, that cometh
to the goddis. What lordshyp can be lost in this lyfe, but
you shal fynde greater in the death. Are you not remem-
bered, whan Vulcan my sofe in lawe poysoned me, bycause
he desyzed my goodes moxe than my lyfe, howe you, my
lorde, for loue that you had to me, gaue me comforde and
counsell, for the deth of my sorrowfull youth: and you sayd
to me, the goddis were cruell, in kyllynge of them that be
yonge, and pitiefull, whan they burie them that be olde.
And also you sayde to me, Comforde thy selfe Panutius:
for yf thou dydst lyue to dye, now than thou dyest to lyue
Therefore ryght iyghe and myghty prince, I say to you, as
you sayd to me: and I counsayle you, as you counsayled
me, and that you gaue me, I gyue you agayne. Fynally,
of this reppynge, take the best in wþthe, & let the rest abide.

Chow the imperour demanded to haue in wþting, al that
the Secretarie had sayde. Cap. xli.

And as of the contentynge of the wylle, often-
tynnes procedeth helche and ease of the body
the emperour was well satisfyed with the wo-
des of Panutius, whiche he eloquently vtre-
red, and with profounde counsell, hardily and
familiarly, and in due tyme, as a good frende. Great con-
passyon it is, to them that wold dye, wha it is shewed them
what they ought to do. For of them that be about the bed,

U. iii. some

somme robbe hym of his money, somme se tue hym swelle,
 some holde the place, to be his heire, some gape for gystes,
 some wepe for losynge of hym, somme laugh for the gay-
 nes they haue by his death, and so in this maner the poore
 patient, hatynge many, lokynge few; they, profyte, hath no
 body to couisel hym. We se dayly, that setuantes, wha they
 se the going out of the cadel of lyfe, care not for the clensing
 of they, lordes byces. And therof cometh, that as sone as
 he is deed, streight way begynneth to synke. And so I say
 that the ende of his lyfe, is the begynnynge of his infamy.
 All they that were there, as well the olde setuauntes as the
 newe, belongynge to thempetour, capptaynes of warre, &
 other, were not a lytell abashed, of the sayenge of Panu-
 tius, and they all allowed his sayenge; and sayde, he was
 worthy to haue the gouernance of thempire. The good
 emperour, all the season that Panutius spake, wept with
 depe sighes fro his harte. And bycause he was so soore gre-
 ued, he coude not forthwith gyue hym an answere: At the
 laste he commanded Panutius, to giue hym in writing, al
 that he had sayd, to thentent that he myght studye theron.
 So he said, it was no reaso, to forget chynges so well said.
 So all the rest of that night, the Secretarie occupied hym
 selfe, to put in writing the same sapenge: and the nexte day
 he delyuered it to the emperour, whiche toke it, and looked
 theron all the daye: and kept it styll on his handes, & often
 tymes redde theron. And the nexte nyght thempetour sent
 for the Secretarie, & in open audience he said, as foloweth

CThe answere of thempetour to Panutius. ca. xlvi.

Happy was the mylke, that thou suckedst in Dacie, &
 the bread þ thou diddest eate at Rome, & the letynge,
 that thou haddest in Athenes, and thy bryngynge vp in my
 houes,

ong. For in my lyfe, thou hast well serued me, and at my
deth, thou hast well counsayled me. I commaunde Com-
modus my sonne, to rewarde the for thy good seruice. And
I pray the goddis, to recompence the for thy councel. The
ward for diuers seruices a man may make: but þ reward
for good councel, all the goddis haue nede to do. The gretist
ward, that one frend may do to an oþer, is in a great &
weyghtie matter, to succour hym with good coucel. All the
mauyles of the wþlde are weightie, but the trauaylle of
deth is the weightiest: all be perillous, but that is moste
perillous: al ben great, but this is the greatest: al thinges
haue an ende at last by deth, saufe only deth, whose ende is
unknowe. He that is herte with deth, is as he, þ is sicke of
the sleepynge euill, hawing a quiche vnderstanding, & yet he
knoweth no man: a many thinges beinge offered to hym,
he can determine vpon none, yet agayne I say, he is a trus
and faythfull frend, that in suche tyme, wil gloue good cou-
sel to his frend. All ther that here this, that I say, wyl say,
that it is true. But I swere, that noo man can knowe it
perfityly, but he that is in case, that I am in, redye to dye.
I. vii. þere hath ben the cours of my lyfe, and nowe deathe
commaundeth me, to close myne eies, & to folowe the cours
of deth. Moreouer, as thou knewest not the infyrmite, so
thou approchest not to the cure and helthe. The dolour is
not there, as thou hast made defensives, it is not the fistu-
la, where against thou hast gauen cautere, it is not against
opulations, that thou hast gauen litopes, it is not in þ vey-
nes, þ thou hast gauen me incision: Thou hast not wel he-
led the wounde, that thou hast stitched me. I say, that thou
miste entre further in me, to knowe perfityly myne accesse.
The sighes that procede fro the botom of my hatt, can not
be vnderstanden with heringe of them: the goddis alonly
know þ thoughtes of þ hatt. Also diuers thinges are in me
that

M A R C V S

that I knowe not of my selfe, noo moe than that is without me, O Panutius, thou accusest me that I feare death. To feare it greatly, I deny it: but I confess to feare it as a man. Of trouth, yf I shuld say, that I feare not death, I muste deny, that I am not made of fleshe. We se, that the Olyphant feareth the lyon, and the beare feareth the olyphant, and the wolfe feareth the beare, and the Shepe feareth the wolfe, and the ratte the catte, and the catte the dogge, and the dogge the man, and all onely theyz feare is, that they b;ede to be slayne. Than if these b;ute beates refuse deth, not fearynge the fyghtynge with furious spites, nor the entoyenge with the goddes: Howe moche rather oughte we to feare the deathe? for we are in feare to be to;ne in pieces with the furies in theyz peynes, or to be receyued in pleasure with the goddes. Therfore I saye, that the naturall feare of deathe, I haue ouercome with the b;ydell and lyberty of reason. Thinkest thou Panutius, that I see not my grasse wasted, and my grapes gathered, that my house breaketh, and that I haue nothyng lefte, but the stocke of the grapes, the skynne of the fleshe, and but one onely blaste of all my lyfe? Thou seest well, that by the tokenes, the exercysse is sene. And nettes be caste in the riuers, and in the parkes bulles bene chased. I saye that the rumour of deathe holdeth in sauetie the lyfe that is in me, at this houre redy armed agaynst deth. I make batayle with deathe, at this houre batayne and naked of lyfe: and so redy to entre into the sepulchre: at this houre I shall entre in to the cainpe, where as I shall not be gored with bulles, but shall be eaten with wormes: and fyinally, I shal go, from whens I can not flee. Thus I hope abydyng deth. And this I say, bycause thou shalt knowe, that I knowe it, and that thou shalt fele, that I fele. And to the entent thou lyue unbegyled, I wyll tell the a secrete.

The

secret. The nouelties, that thou hast scene in me, as in absenceynge of meate, bereuyng of slepe, liuyng alone, weynes of company, drownyng in syghes, and pastyng in wepyng. Thou mayst well thinke, what turment oughte to be in the see of my harte, whan suche tremblynges and motions of erthe and reynes are set in the erthe of my body. Whal I shew the, wherfore my body is in this thought and my harte in suche trouble? The cause why I suffre deth so greuously, is that I leue my sonne Commodo in this lyfe, in a perillous age for hym, and suspicioius for thempye. By the floures the frutes are knownen, and the vines in burgenyng: by the colt the horse is knownen, whether he shalbe meke or stuborne for labour or cartage: and in the yowthe the yonge man is knownen: and by the lyttell that I se in my lyfe by my sonne Commodo, I feare me, it wyll be lesse after my deth. Thou knowest not, why I saye thus. And I saye it not without cause: for my sonne Commodo is very ponge, and yet yonger in wytte. He is of an yll inclination, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym selfe by his owne wytte and vnderstandinge, as though he were a man of experiance: he knoweth but lyttelle, and caret he for nothyng. Of the tyme passed he hath no knowledge: all onely he occupieth hym selfe with the tyme present. Fynally, by that I se with myn eyes, and thynke in my harte, I feare me the personne of my sonne shall be in peryll, and the memorie of his fathers howse perisshe. Faustyne his mother hath forstred hym to delycately: and by a harde stony grounde he hath a great waye to go. He entreteth as now alone into the pathe of yowth without any guyde. I feare me he shall goo out of the ryght waye, and wander in the bushes and thornes of vices. O Panutius, harken what I say, I say it not without teares, thou seest that my sonne temayneth ryche, yonge, and at libertie. Riches yowthe

solitarines, and libertie beu. iii. pestilences, that empoy-
 sone the prynce, and waste the common welthe: hit sleethe
 them that be alyne, & infameth them that be deed. Beleue
 me one thyng, dyuers graces are requisite to susteyne di-
 uers vertues. With the fayrest women the brothell houses
 are peopled, the mooste vilaynes are made ruffiengs: the
 moste hardye are robbers in woddes: the quyckeste of un-
 derstandinge ofte proue fooles: and the moste subtylle
 becom theues. I say, that such as are clothed with dyuers
 graces of nature, lacke the furres of acquyzed vertues.
 We may say, they hold in theyr handes a knyfe, wherwith
 they stryke and hurte them selues: fire on theyr shulders,
 wherwith they bren: and a corde about theyr necke, wher-
 with they hange: daggers at theyr stomacke, wherwith they
 are slayne: thornes at theyr feete, wherwith they are
 pricked: a stony waye afore theyr eies, where they stumble,
 and stumblyng fall, and fallyng they lese theyr lyfe, and
 wynne dethe. The great trees of whom we haue fruyte in
 wynter, and shadowe in sommer, shal be planted the rotes
 faste in the entayles of the erthe, oþ euer theyr waueryng
 boughes are aduentured in the wynde. Marke þanutius
 marke well. The man that from his yowth hath set before
 hym the feare of the goddes, and the shame of men, is ha-
 bited in vertues, & he that accompanieth with them that
 be vertuous, maynteyneth trouth to every man, and liueth
 without preiudice of any man. Malicious fortune maye
 somtyme cleue the bark of the welthe of such a tree, wy-
 ther the floure in his yowthe, breake the leaues of his fa-
 uour, gather the fruyte of his trauaylle, breake downe a
 bough of his offyces, & bowe downe the heyght of his cou-
 cell: yet for all the strokis that the wynde can strike, it can
 not be plucked vp by the rote. Certaynely the sonne that
 the fater hath endued with graces, and the sonne appil-
 enge

enge hym in byces, ought not to be borne in this woldē: if he be borne, to be bryed quicke. for the fathers sweate by day, and watche by nyght, to leue honour to theyz chyl-
dren, whiche the fathers bye of the goddis with syghes, & the mothers deluyered of them with peyne, and bryngē the
up with trauayle: and the chylde proueth so, that he giueth
greuous age to the father in his lyfe, & great infamy after
his death. I consyder wel, that the prince Comode, beyng
ponge and Iolde, agaynste his wyl, forbare vices, & I fere
me, that after my deth, he wyl hate vertues. I rememb're
diers of his age, haue inherited the empyre, whiche were so
hardy in theyz lyues, that they desetued to be called tyran-
ties after theyz dethes. Exāple of Denys, renoumed tyrant
of Hycill, whiche hired theym that coude inuente vices, as
our Roime rewardeth them that conquere realmes. What
greate tyranny can be in a tyrant, than to make most pri-
uie to him, thē that be vicious: Also I forget not the four
kinges, that succeeded after great Alexander, as Ptholome
Anthioc⁹, Silui⁹, & Antigonus. whiche the Grekes called
great titantis: all that Alexander had gotten wth renoumed
trūphes, they lost by theyz viciousnes. And in this maner
the woldē wth Alexander had deuided amonge them. iii. came
to the handes of mo than fourte. C. for Antigon⁹ set so litle
by that had cost his lord Alexander so moch, & was so lighte
in his age, & so bolde in his realme, wth in mockerie in wth stede
of a crowne of golde, he ware a gatlande of Iute: & in stede
of a scepter, he bare a thystle in his tyght hande: and after
that maner, he wolde syc amonge his men, & whan he spake
to strangers. I lay shame to the yonge man so to do, but I
meruayle, that the sadde and wyse men of grece suffred it.
I rememb're also Caligula the.iii. emperour of Rome,
a yonge man, in whose tyme it was harde to knowe, whi-
che was the greatester, eyther the disobedience of the people

X.ii. to thetē

M A R C V S

to theþ; loþde, or the hatred, that the loþde bare to the people. And this yonge þrince went so farre oute of the waye in his youthe, and was so farre wyde frome reason in his tyranypes, that euery man studyed, howe to take his lyfe from hym: & he studiued to see euery man. He wroote these wordes in a table of golde: Wolde to god, that all Rome hadde but one heed, to the entente that with one stroke, I myghte stryke it of.

Also remembre Tyberie, sonne adoptiue of good. Au-
guste, called August, bycause he augmented Rome. But
this good olde þrince dyd not so moche augmente it in his
lyfe, but this yonge successor destroyed it moche moxe af-
ter his dcathe. The hate that the Romayne people had a-
gainste Tyberie in his lyfe, was ryght welle shewed after
his deth. For the same daye that he dyed, or whan he was
slayne, the people made dyuers processions, and the sena-
tors offred great gyftes in the temples, and the þriestes
offred gret sacrifices to their goddis, to thentent that they
shulde not recyue the soule of the sayd Tyberie into their
glozie: but to sende it to the furies of Hell.

Also I mynde Patrocle, the seconde kynge of Corin-
the, whiche enherited the realme, beynge but. xvi. yere of
age, and he was so viciouſ of his body, and so lyberall of
his mouthe, that wherc as his father helde the realme. Ir.
yere, he possessed it but. xxx. dayes.

Also the auncient Tarquin the proude, the. vii. kynge
of Rome, whiche was ryght godly in gesture, ryghte va-
lyaunt in armes, and of a cleane bloudde, as an vnhappy
þrince, defiled all his vertues with nougtye lyuyng: in
suche wyse, that he conuerted his beautie into lechery, his
power into tyranny, for the villany that he dyd to Lucrece,
the chaste lady of Roine, wherby he lost not onely his re-
alme, but the name of Tarquine was banyſhed for euer

out

out of Rome.

I remembre cruelle Nero, whiche inherited, and dyed
ponge: & in hym ended the memorie of the noble Cesars:
and by hym was renewed the memorie of Antigones the
tyrantes. Whom thynkest thou this tyrant wolde suffre to
lyue, whiche slew his owne mother? Tell me I praye the,
what harte is that of a chylde, to selle his owne mother, to
open the brestes that he sucked, to shedde the blood of her
that nourished hym in her armes, and to beholde the en-
traples, wherin he was fownded? What thynkest thou,
that he wolde not haue done, if he commytted suche an
yll deder? The day that Nero slew his mother, an oratour
sayde in the senate, that Agripppe his mother had deser-
ued deth, for chyldynge suche a chylde in Roine. These thre
dayes, that thou haste sene me so altered in my mynde, all
these thynges came before me: and I haue drawen theym
into the depenes of my harte, and disputed theym. This
sonne of myne holdeth me in the gulfe of the see, betwene
the waues of feare, and the ankers of dispayre, hopynge,
that he shoulde be good, bycause I haue nourished hym
well, and fearynge, that he shulde be ylle, bycause his mo-
ther Faustyne hath brought hym uppe wantonly, and the
ponge man is inclined to yll. And as ye see a thynge made
by artifice peryshe, and a naturall thynge laste: I am in
great feare, that after my deth, he wyll tourne that waye,
that his mother hath chylded hym, and not as I haue no-
rished hym. O how happy were I, yf I had never a child,
to leue behynde me to be emperour: Then a chylde myght
be chosen amoung children of good fathers, and I shulde
not haue ben troubled with hym, that the goddes haue gy-
uen me. Panutius, I demaunde one thynge of the, whe-
ther thou callest moche fortunate, Waspasian the naturalle
father of Domitian, or els Nerua, the father adoptyue of

Cratian: Waspassian was good, and Actua verye good, & Domitian was of all other mooste cruelle, and Crayane the myxtour of all clemency. Thā regard, how Waspassian in the fortune to haue chyldren was vnhappy, and Actua in the myskfortune to haue chyldren was happy. I knowe not why these fathers desyre to haue chyldren, sith they ben the occasion of so moche trauayle. O Panutius, I wyll say one thyng to the, as a frende to a frende (as thou knewest wel we be in thys wōlde) I haue lyued. Iri. yeres, in whiche tyme I haue redde many thynges, and haue hard, sene, desyred, atteyned, possessed, suffred, and tested moch, and nowe at this tyme I must dye: and of al thyng I shal beare nothyng away, bycause bothe it and I are nothyng. Great besynes the hart hath to serche for these goodes, and great trauayle to come to them: but wþtout comparison the greatest dolour is at the houre of the deth, to depart and leaue them. What greater disease can be to the body, than sondaynely to be surprised with ennemys? What pe cyll of the see, or losse of frendes, can be egall, to se a vertuous man drawe to his deathe, to leaue the sweate of hys face, the auctorite of the empire, the honour of hys persone, the company of hys frendes, the remedye of hys detours, the rewardyngc of his seruantes: and to leaue it to a chylde, that hath not merited it, nor hath not the power to wyll to merite it.

CIn the ix. table of the lawes were these wordis wþitten: we commaunde and ordeyne, that euery fater, who in the opinion of all men is good, shall disheryte his sonne, that is yll in every mans opinion. Alſe euery chylde, what soeuer he be, that disobeyeth hys fater, or robbeth any temple, or hurt any wydowe, so that she blede, flee fro the batayle, or do any treason to a stranger, who so euer is found in any of these fyue cases, lette hym be banyſhed for euer the

the habitation of Roine and caste out fro the herytage of
hys father.

CIn good sooth this lawe was good, and in the tyme of
Quintus Cincinate, hit was oddeyned, and nowe by vs,
whiche be vnhappy, it is cleane lefte and forgotten. Pa-
nucus without doubt I am wery to speake, and also I
haue suche an impediment in my stomacke, that I wante
brethe: o; elles I coulde shewe the all by order, yf myne
understandynge fayled me not, howe manye Parthiens,
Mediens, Assiriens, Caldiens, Indiens, Egypcyens,
Hebreewes, Greces, and Romaynes, haue lefte they; chyl-
dren pooze, and myght haue lefte them ryche: and all was
bycause they were vicious: and other chyldren that were
very pooze, were lefte ryche, bycause they were good and
vertuous. I swere to the by the immortall goddes, that
whan I came fro the warres betwene the Parthiens and
Rome, and that the triumphe and glorie was gyuen to
me, and my sonne confirmed to be emperour: I wolde
the Senate hadde lefte me my sonne Commodus pooze,
with all his vices, and that I hadde made the Senate
heire and lord to the empire: and to haue chastised hym to
the example of all the wold. I wyll that thou knowe,
I shall carie syue thynges with me out of this wold
internedled, the whiche is greate sorowe to my harte. The
fyre is, that I haue not determined and iudged the ples
and processe of the noble wydowe Drusia, with the Se-
nate, seinge that she is very pooze, and hath noo bodye to
doo her Justyce: The seconde is, bycause I doo nat dye in
Rome, to the intente that I myghte cause to be cryed and
proclaymed euery where in Rome, et I dyed, to wytte if a-
ny complayned on me: the thirde is, that wher as I dyd
see.xiii.tyrantes that vndyd the countreye, that I hadde
not as well banyshed all the Pirates that kepte the sees:

the

M A R C V S

the fourth is, that I lefte my dere sonne Merissimus dead; and the. v. that I haue lefte alyue, as heþe to the empyre, my sonne Commodus. O Panutius, the greatest happe, that the goddes can gyue to a man (not couetous but vertuouse) is to gyue hym tenoume in his lyfe, & a good heire to conserue hym after his deathe. Fynally to conclude, I praye to the goddes, yf I shall haue any parte with theym, that is by my sonnes offences, Rome be sclandreþ, and my tenoume minished, and my hous loste by his lyfe, that they wyll take away his lyfe yet oþ I dye.

Cwhat thempetour sayde to the maysters of his sonne, and to the rulers of themppe. Capt. pl. iii.



Se you auncient fathers and noble Ro
mayns, and ryght faythfull seruauntes
take peyne and soþwe, for that I misse
yelde me to deþe, and leaue this lyfe,
and treate with my sepulchre. ye soþwe
for my soþwe, ye are tourmented with
myng angusþe, & peyned for my peyne;
it is no meruaylle. for the clere vnderstandinge of the
pure blod of true and faythful frendes, is to double theyþ
trauayles, and to wepe for other: yf one bþute beast moþe
for an other, moch more ought one humayne creature to soþwe
for an other, And this I saye, bycause I know by the
teares of your eyes, the felyng of your hattes. And syþe
that the greatest rewarde for any benefite, is to knowe it,
and thanke the patie therof: as moche as I can, I thanke
you. And yf my weake thankes be not correspondente to
your pitiefulle weyng, I requyre the goddes, after they
haue taken awaye my lyfe, to rewarde you for my duetie.
It is greate pleasure for the familie to knowe theyþ may-

Get

Get go with the goddis, and greatt peyne to hym to leaue
them. For company of many petts is loth to leaue the lyfe.
In my lyfe tyme I haue done with you as I ought to do,
and as nowe I muste do as I may. The goddes wyll take
my soule away, Comodus my sonne the empyre, the sepul-
chre my bodye, and ye my spesiall frendes my harte. And
sochly it is reason, that syth ye were in the lyfe my hartes,
that it be yours after my deth. And in that I wyll speake
more particular this night shall be our reasonnyng. Now
my harty frendes ye se, that I am come to the ende of my
laste tourney, and to the begynnyng of my fyfte tourney
with the goddis. It is reason, that syth I haue loued you
in tyme past, that ye beleue me now. For the tyme is come
that ye can demaunde nothynge of me: no, I haue nothing
to offece you: no, myn eares as now can not here flatteries,
no, my harte suffre impo:ntunities: yf ye never knewe me,
knowe me now. I haue ben he that I am, and am he that
hath ben, in tynes paste lyke vnto you, somewhat: nowe
ye se I am but lytell, and within a lyttell whyle I shall be
nothynge. This daye shall ende the lyfe of Marke your
frende, this day shall ende the lyfe of Marc your parente,
this day shall ende the fatall destynies of Marc your lord,
this day shal ende the seignory of Marke your emperour,
and this day shall ende his empyre. I haue vanquished
many, and nowe I am ouercome with deth: I am he that
hath caused many to dye, and I can not as nowe gyue my
selfe one daye of lyfe: I am he that hath entred into cha-
riottes of golde and this daye I shall be layde on a biere
of wodde: I am he, for whome many haue songe meryly,
and this daye they wepe: I am he that hath had company
in all exercices, and this daye I shall be gyuen to hungrye
woormes: I am Marcus greatly renoumed, that with fa-
mous triumphe mounted into the high capytolle, and this

X daye

day with forgetfulnes I shall discende into the sepulchre,
 I see nigh with myn eies, that was fatte hyd in my harte,
 And as the goddes be fauourable to you in this woldre, as
 equalle and fauourable to me in an oþer woldre, as my
 fleshe neuer toke pleasure to passe this lyfe, but my harte
 was sodaynly taken with the feare of death: than take no
 peyne for me, for cyþer I muste see the ende of you, or
 yon of me. I yelde great thankes to the goddis, that they
 take awaye this olde persone to reste with them, and leaue
 you yonge for to serue in thempye. For there is no compa-
 ryson for to speake of death to the lyfe, nor to eschewe the
 deathe at the houre therof. And yet I wyl not denye, but
 I do feare deth, as a mortall man. Whan the lyfe passeth,
 there is no prudencie in a prudente, nor vertue in a vertu-
 ous, nor lordshyp in a lordre, that can take awaye the feare
 of the spirite, nor peyne of the fleshe. Atte this tyme the
 sowle and the fleshe are so combyned and so conglutinate
 togyþer, and the spiryte with the bloude are so annexed,
 that the seperation of the one from the other is the mooste
 terrible, and the laste terrible of all tertielenes. Certaynly
 it accordeth vnto good reason, that the sowle departe do-
 lozously, leauynge the fleshe vnto wormes, and the body
 as envious to se the sowle go and spoþe with the goddis.
 O what lytell thoughte we take in this lyfe, vntylle we
 falle grouelynge with oure eies vpon deathe. Belue
 me, Syþe I haue passed from whens ye be, and haue ex-
 perimented that ye doo se, that is the vanities of vs that
 are bayne, is so agreeable to vs, that whanne we begynne
 to lyue, we ymagyne that oure lyfe wylle endure a holle
 woldre: and whanne it is ended, it seemeth vs to be but a
 pufse or a blaste of wynde. And bycause than sensualytie
 peyneth for sensibilitie, and the fleshe for the fleshe, rea-
 son guyded with them that be mortall telleth me, that it
 peyneth

peyneth not with the departynge. If I haue lyued as a
bute beast, it is reason that I dye a discrete man oughte
to do. I dyenge this day shal dye all my lyckenesse, hungry
shal dye, colde shal dye, al my peynes shal dye, my thought
shal dye, my displeasure shal dye, and euery thyng that
guedh peyne and so;owe. This day the nyght shall be ta-
ken awaie, and the sonne shyne bygght in the skye: This
daye the ruste shall be taken from myne eyes, and I shall
see the sonne clerely: This daye the waye shall be made
smothe so; to goo ryghte: this is, the daye shall ende the
wurthey, wherin I shall not dzedhe the stayes of fortune.
I thanke the goddes immortall, that haue suffred me to
lyue so clerely, and so longe a tyme. This daye I shall
haue an ende of all vnhappy destenes of enuyous fortune,
and not they of me. Of trouthe yf the goddis haue com-
maunded my fleshe to be hydden in the sepulchre, and to
be as mortalle: yet yf they be iuste and doo well, they wyll
make my renoume to be immortall, bycause I haue lyued
well. Than syth I change this wety lyfe and company of
menne, so; the swetenes of the goddis, and the doubtes of
fortune so; this sure lyfe, and greate and continuall feare
so; perpetuall peace, and this ylle and naughte corrupte
lyfe so; good renoume and glorie, I thynke veryly this
shuld be none yll change.

CIt is nowe thre score and two yeres sythe the erthe hath
sustyned and fedde the erthe of my bodye: It is nowe
tyme that the erthe knowledge me so; her sonne, and I
wyll also take her so; my mother. Wely it is a pitiful mo-
ther, that wyll nowe take me into her entrayles so; etern,
sythe that I haue so longe space troden her vnder my
feete. And yet thoughte that I were as I am, so; to be as
she is, I am in certayne that she wolde kepe me surer a-
monge her womes, than Ryme amounge the Senatours.

X.ii. And

And all though it be peynefull to you, yf it please the goddes to haue it thus, no man can excuse nor scape it. I shuld be ryght well cased, if this webbe were broken, and my possessyon taken in the Sepulcre. Than shulde I haue the fyght thyng propre of myn owne, and perpetuall without any feare of lesynge therof. All thynges mortall, that mortall folkes haue, and the enuye of them that be enuyous maye be broken, except the deth and the sepulcre, the whiche are priuileged from enraged hongre of enuy. I se yon wel, shedyng teres from your eyes, and reysse hevy sighes from the depenes of your hartes. Wylle ye not that I shulde desyze deathe, sith the phisitions gyue me but thre houres of lyfe? and there are conteyned in me. iii. yeres of peynes, the length wherof is a cyzonisine of deathe. And all though our deblyte be weake, yet for all that our honour is so sensible, that at the houre of deathe, the more that the bones dischargeth them of the fleshe, the more is the hart charged with thoughtes. In maner that whan the sinewes bntie them from the bones of the bode, than newely they tye agayne a soore knotte to the hart. Nowe let vs leaue speakyng of that that toucheth the particularis my selfe, and speake we in generall of it that is conueniente to a yonge pynce, and to you that are his tutours and maysters.

C^ome se here my sonne Comodus onely pynce and heire abydynge for the heritage of the myre: neyther for beynge good, that he meriteth praysle, nor for beynge yl represse. for he hath taken his naturallitie of the goddes, and his nourse amonge you. Dyuers tymes whan he was a chylde, ye toke hym in your armes, to thentente that nowe he is a man, ye shulde sette hym in your hartes. Hitherto he hath taken you for his maysters: and nowe at this tyme, he muste repute you as his fathers. And whyles I lyued, ye held

wolde hym so; your p̄ince in nouyshypinge hym, so; your
 emperour in seruynge hym, and as your parent in helpyng
 hym, and as your sonne in teachynge hym. Hytherto ye
 onely helde hym charge, as father, mother, and maysters:
 he is nowe as a newe shyppe put this daye into the ryghte
 see, fletyng to the botomles swolowe, where as the sayles
 of p̄speritie wyll make hym falle, and the rockes of vn-
 happynes, wyll d̄owne hym. Than amonge so many vn-
 fortunate wyndes and vnstable waters, there is greett
 necessarie of good oozes. Surely I am very sorp̄ so; them-
 pyze, and haue great compassyon of this yonge p̄ince, and
 suche as wolde his welthe, shall moze bewaylle his lyfe
 than my deth. So; scappyng fro the see I se my selfe at a
 good sure poze, and vpon mayne lande, and leaue hym
 the sweatte and trauaple. So; as yet he knoweth not howe
 to aduenture to sayle on the see: no; yet knoweth not whe-
 ther he shal abyde the age of my longe experiance, no; whe-
 ther he shall be a reasonable emperour or noo. But what
 shall sorowfull Rome no, whan it hath nouyshed a good
 p̄ince, and that fatall destynyes maketh an ende of hym?
 o; that by enuye of them that be yll he is slayne: o; the cru-
 eltie of the goddes taketh hym awaie: o; that the body by
 his owne p̄op̄e handes be lyfte vp in suche wyse, that in
 therperiment of p̄inces, al the lyfe tyme parteth in beway-
 lyng of the youch of yonge p̄inces, and the grauitie of
 they; aunciente p̄inces passed. O yf these p̄inces beleued
 at the begynnyng of they; empire, other kynges that are
 fayled in the wold, howe they be taught whan it is so im-
 portable so; one man without charge to rule soo many re-
 almes, and he doyng nothynge but take they; goddes,
 to bbe hym of his tenouine, banyshes they; persons fro him,
 and he to ende his lyfe, and his subiectes augmente they;
 soowes: and sith he is but one, he can doo no moze than

one, though dyuers hope that he doth for all. Regarde in what my aduenture a pynce lyueth, whan the least villain in Italy thynketh, that all only for hym and on hym alone the pynce setteth his eies. And syth the wold is so changeable, and the people so vnruley, the daye that a pynce is crowned and exalted with a sceptre ryalie, the same daye he submytteth his goodes to the couetouse, & all his estate to the semblaunce of other. Thus than in this the goddes shewe they power. For all the vnderstandinges are tacked to one free wyll. The semynge of all they condempne, and alowe but one. They gyue the domination to one, and the subiection to many. To one they gyue the chastysemente of all, and not al to the chastysement of one. For the last of many, they gyue meate but to one: the sauour wherof is swete to some, and sowre to other: to some remayneth the bone, and to some the fleshe: at the laste some be drowned & other be hyndred, & at the ende all haue an ende. I wolde demand of you that be mooste familiar, what is the crowne of thempye, or the sceptre of golde, or the colet of perles or preciouse stones, or tubes of Alexander, or vessell of Corinth, or chariottes of triuph, or what offices of Consules or dictatours are desired in chande of theyre teste: for it is certaine, they can not attayn to the one, without lesyng of the other. And this is the cause þ there be yll mariners, & to hardy pilottes, for they flee fro the see to the lande, & fro the land to the see. One thing I wil say, þ is aginst my self: euery man hateth warre, & no man leketh for peace. All soowe for one that is angred, and none is cōtent to appeace: all wolde comande, but none wyl be comauanded. This hath ben in the wold passed, & now at this present tyme men be so light, þ they rather chose to comand with peryl, than to obey with teste. Seyng that my dayes are diminished, & my syckenes augmented, suspecting than that I se nowe, whan I retur
ned

nd fro the water of Hycill, I determinyd to make my testa-
ment, the whiche ye may see here: Open and beholde it,
and therby ye shall se, howe I leauue you to be maysters of
my son, yet in loue and fidelite ye be to gyther all as one.
Great peryll the p̄yngce is in, and the common welth in an-
y aduenture, where as be many intentions amouge the
gouernours. Certaynly the p̄yngcis are glōyous, and the
people well fortunate, and the senate happy, whan all a-
gree in one counsell, and that the counsaylers be auncient,
and many of them, and all theyz intētions agree vpon one
thyng. Whan this was in Rome, it was feared and dred
of tȳantes, hauyng theyz consultations approued with
m. C. batons. And though theyz reasons were diuers, yet
theyz wylles and intentis were all one for the comon welth.
I desyre and coniure you by the goddis, that ye be all fren-
des in conuersation, and conformable in counsell. All the
weake debilitis in a p̄yngce may be suffred, except yll coun-
sell: and all defautes of counsellours are tollerable, except
enuy and ȳze. Whan the freting wōrme called a mothe, en-
treth among them, it causeth peril in Justice, dishonour to
the p̄yngce, sclauder in the cōmons, and parcialitie in the
superiours. The consaylour that hath his mynde ouer-
come with ȳze, and his harte occupied with enuy, and his
wōrdes outragious to a good man, it is reason that he lose
the fauour of the goddes, his p̄yntie with the p̄yngce, and
the credence of the people. For he presumeth to offend the
goddis with yll intention, to serue the p̄yngce with yll cou-
sell, and to offend the common welth with his ambition.
O howe ignorant are these p̄yngcis, that take hede of such
herbes & venoms that myghte poyson theym in theyz mea-
tes, and care not for the poyson that they of theyz patyng
counsayle do gyue them? Doubtles there is no compariso,
for the herbes and poysons can be gyuen but on one daye:

but

M A R C V S

but the venym of yll counseyle is gyuen euery howre. The
 nymp is defended by the horne of an vnicorn, by tryacle
 and otherwise by domites: but the poysone of yll counse
 hath no remedy, and lesse defensives. And fynally I say
 that the venym gyuen by an enmy can but selle one empe
 tour in Rome, but the poysone gyuen by hym that is most
 priuye to euyll counsell, sleeth the emperour, and destroy
 eth the common welthe. And where as euery vertuous
 prince setteth more by perpetuall renoume than this fally
 bly lyfe, ye beyng gouernours of theimpre, and mayster
 to my sonne, they that owe hym yll wyll haue not so moche
 power ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his renoume. Ther
 foze yf he be awaked by his ennies straungers, moche ra
 ther he ought to be awaked amonge his domesticall fren
 des. One thyng I commaunde as to my seruantes, and
 I desyre you as my frendes, that ye shewe not your selfe
 so priuie openly, as ye be in secrete: to thentente that some
 semme not as naturall sonnes, and other as hired seruantes
 He that is vertuous ought to haue great regarde to the
 profyte of his lord secrete, and to be meke of conuersa
 tion with euery man openly, els his priuetic wyl not longe
 endure, and the hate of the prince with the people wyl in
 creace, Oftentymes I haue redde of our predecessours,
 and I haue sene it in the present Romaynes, whan many
 holde with one, that one holdeth but lyttell with dypers,
 and lesse with many, the whiche kepereth they; wylles as far
 of, as the persons be nygh. And syth the ynes of the tyme,
 and unstablenes of fortune neuer leauethe any thyng in
 one case, but all is as in maner of a dreame: the moste suc
 purchase is to flee fro peryll, for then whā the princes haue
 passed their pleasures entremedled in trauayles, they ser
 che for many, and fynde not one. Therof cometh, that one
 present, for feare wyl withdraw hym, and an other out of
 fauour

farrours and abfence, I wyl the come. If wyl them to the
 thyme, the whiche you shal alwaies puny my sonnes me-
 moire: They that in our examples haue determined of a
 long season to apply them, we ought to wypne they; good
 wylles. The wylle labouren in one pere labouret to gette
 comers to gether, and in an other pere he solveth and gade-
 reth. Be not to p;resumptuous, for the p;resumption of an
 auncient p;ince, forzowch the auctorite of the yonge p;ince:
 yet for all this dispatte no; rebuke hym not to moche: for
 the lacke of maners in the state of a loue engend;eth vn-
 shamefashnes in hym, and boldnes to the servant. I haue
 lefte in my testament the p;ince Comodus for your sonne,
 and you for his fadeth. But I wyl and comande, that
 every man knowlege him to be they; loude, and to be at his
 commaundemente. And ye my oþer servantes and subie-
 ttes to be in his obediencie, and in all his highe busynesses
 to be wel gyrded as his frefes and louets. Justice ought
 to be sent to, by wise oþatours, accoþdinge to the opinion
 of you that be his gouernours. And alway the determina-
 tion to be doone by the p;ince, whiche is loude of all. One
 counsel I wyl gyue you (and if you finde it yll, blame me
 afore the goddes) wherby the empire of my sonne shal be
 stable and permanent in Ryme, and your p;riuacie sure in
 his house, if your counselfes be moued by reason, and his
 wyl ruled by your councells. I desyre soþe that ye be not
 covetous: and therfore I haue gyuen you dyuers gystes
 and thankes in my lyfe, to take covetousnes frome you a
 fore my deþe. It were a monstrosyng and very dyed-
 full, that such as oughte to recþape couetyse fro straun-
 gers, to haue they; owne handes open for their owne p;ro-
 p;re lucres. The vertuous p;rice men, oughte not to doo al
 the þt that they may, nor to desyre all that they may ateyn
 unto, to the intente that the p;ince gyue them soþe moche
 goodes

goodis for the profite of their housses, as perte and emp
of the people to their persones. And as it meane shypes
men scape best in a meane se, sooner than in great carra
iges in the walves of the rooyng and impituous seas: in
lyke wypse suche as be in meane estate amung them that be
but meanly enutous, lyue more surely, than such as are ses
in high estate and prouer being ryche, to be passioned a
monge enemis, that daidatly wold put them vnder.
It is a notable rule amonge wyle men, and an infallible
experiance amonge them that be good, and I thynke that
by herynge ther of the pl shall knowlege it: The glorie of
one amonge great men maketh styrfe, suspicion in them
that be egall, and envy amonge them that be meane. One
thinge, that they that gouerne well, ought to haue, is ly
beralite. The lesse ye be couetous, the more yeshalbe libe
rall. For with the rage of couetousnes the ryght of justice
is mynished. It is longe tyne syth I determined to gyue
you the gouetynge of chempire, and the nourishinge of
my sonne. And to haue prouided to haue givyn you large
ly of my goodes, to put the couetynge of other mens goo
des from you. I warrant you one chyng: If couetousnes
be amonge you, and be enuyed of your neyghbours, you
shall lyue in peyne, and your hartes shall be pepned with
other mens busynesses, and your myndes shall be rutt in
suspecte. Than shall ye folowe the Justice of other, wher
as ye shal se your owne propre welth. One couisell finally I
wyl gyue you, whiche I haue taken alway my selfe. Neuer
commynche your honours to the myshappes of fortune: no
neuer offer your selfe to perdyll with hope of remedye: For
suspicious fortune kepereth alwayes her gates wyde open
for perdyll, and her walles ben highe, and her bochettis na
rrowe to fynd any remedy. And bcause I sele my selfe so
graualed, I praye you suffer me to rest a lytell.

Holw

quod invenit in the house of his death, and for his
sonne, who declared to him, who shulde goe to an
empire, answere with the Empire, cap. xliii. 2. and of his
sonnes which in the same were 200 in number, he
chose the first.

Thus a great partie of the nyght passed, and the
day began to awake, and the life of this good
emperour began fast to drawe to an ende: yet
soyl that he left not the remembraunce of such
thinges as shulde be odered after his deathe.
There were that tyme in the warre with him divers right
expelst men senaours of Rome: and in al thinges he shew-
ed him selfe right wise, & specially he wold never haue al-
ly vicious person in his house. He hadde eche in his com-
paigne gentilmen knyghtes, and in eche of them he myght
haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Itemcynes this good
emperour wold say, that princiis loued more surelye with
the gadring to them men of good luyng & conuersation,
tha with treasore of moneye stresse in their chestes. Unhap-
py is þ prynce, that esteneth hym selfe happy to haue his
coffers ful of treasore, and his councell full of men of ill
luyng. These malitious and yll men make princiis podier
and a perkye man suffyseth to make a holle realme ryche.
Surely this emperour saide well. For we do se dally, that
what the father hath gotten in fifty yeres, the sonne loseth
in halfe a yere. Than chusynge amonge many a fewe, and
of fewe to take the best, this emperour appoynted out. vii
notable barons: Thie of the to be maisters of his son. & iii.
to be governours of thempire. One was called Paruax,
whiche after was emperour: an other was called Pompe-
iano, husbād to his daughter, as sure in coucel as he was
aged in yeres: The. iii. Gneo Patrocle of the ancient stock
of the Pompeies, whiche was no lesse cleane in his luyng
than his heare were white: The. iii. was called Andrisco,
z. ii. whiche

In which in goodlynes of his gestuse, bignes of bodye, bretes of courage, and iysidurie in conseruac[i]on, none was equal to hym in Rome: The i. was named Bononius, whiche at that tyme was consule, and in the aunciente lawes very expert: The last was called Iuan Marius, the good, and he was called the good, bycause that in. i. p[er]ce never man sawe hym do any yll wrothes, no; harde hym speake any ydel wrode, no; do any thyngie but it was profytable to the common welthe. Though in case they were all egall in gouernunge: yet I say thefe laste thre were princypall. So; Iuan Marius p[er]ticularly was left to be chiefe capteyn of the armes, and to hym was delyuerned al the mea-sure, and the testament was put into his handes: and with sole weyng the emperour recommended to hym the p[ri]nce his sonne. Then whan the peyne of his sicknes encreasid, and that he lokid for the houre of his deth, he comandid to awake his sonne Comodus, whiche without any cam-
was faste a slepe, and whan he was brought into the pre-sence of his fader, it was greatt pittie to se the eten of the olde emperour soore discoloured with weyng, and the eies of the sonne almooste closed with weyng: the sonne was wakynge with small thoughte, and the fader could not slepe for great thoughte and peyne. And whan he was in his presence, seing the lyttell care that the sonne toke for the deth of his fader, and consideringe the great desire of the fader for the good lyfe of his sonne, it moued to pittie the hartes of al the great lordes that were there, moe less to leaue the company of the good old man, than the ignor-
ance of the dealynge of the yonge p[ri]nce. Then the emperour sayde to his sonne these wordes.

Cwhat the empetour sayde to his sonne at the
hour of his death. **Ca. 110.**

Unto

To the matthes embry/germinalnes I haue
 spred so herte they shal consider: and nowe
 my sonne at this houre I say to the, howe they
 (thonghe they be but a fewe) all for the alone
 shal gourde: and this wot to be taken in final
 estimation. The moost easell thyngs to the people is to
 give counseil to an other: and the moost hard and herte
 shal be a man to take it for hem selfe. There is none so
 simple a man but he may give good counseil, though there
 be no use. And there is none so herte that will refuse coun-
 seil in tyme of necessitie. I say therfore that al take adu-
 seil for all, and at the laste take it for thy selfe. Nowe I
 thynke accordeynge to my herte for all dedynches, and thynges
 yel customes, that one thyng shal not profitethe, that is,
 if the spetel godnes that thou haue hast was for feare of
 me in my lyfe, that thou mylde doe lessyn hem then haue
 forgotten my berthe. I do more moue me to forfayre my de-
 frite and the common welthe, than for the herte that I haue
 of the amendment of thy lyfe. There is not a woorse com-
 plainte, than that a man holdeth of hem selfe. If thou my
 sonne be yel, Rome wyl complayne to the goddes, that they
 haue givyn the so yel inclinations: They wyl complayne
 of Iaua in thy mother, that hath brought the herte so
 tonly: and they wylis complayne on thy selfe, that thou
 doste not refreyn the from bittes: and they shal not com-
 playne of thyne olde fathir, that hath givyn the so yel
 good counselfes. I am incertayne, thou hast not so yel
 dolour to see the ende of this myght, and the ende of my
 lyfe, as thou hast pleasure to se the day that thou shalbe
 empereour: and I haue no merayde, supposid as ferre
 a litle reyneth, reason is put abyde. I purposid thynges wch
 belied me becausir they are not knowid certaynly. O that may
 up thynges of thought be shewyd, shal if they be shewyd
 truly

truly they shal be obgild. as as when so doubtful in euer
yoyning, although honest busynesse so variably and in-
constancilly, that somtyme our spottes breake the purpose,
and an other tyme they shalbe byt of trouble no; hym-
brance. Hysacie be so shayre to do yit, that some tyme we
lese byt paueyng of the mose, and to do wel we be so dul, that
we be despaueyed of the mose: and the laste we doone
thing but to se, whanne I wyl aduise the bp wodes, that
I haue hym in my booke by long experiance: and syl
thou actyng sonne and yonge, it is reason that thou be-
lue hym that is thy only father. As the princes are regare
of all men, and regarde kill men, and are regarde of al o
ther, this is a ymportaunce to haue the empice of the wodes
and the couete of hem. I knowe well there be knowe in
the couete of princes, that knowe nothyng what is to make
them selfe of wortynnes, and to maistren them self amog
so many rypades as are treated in the houres of princes.
I lete the so wytte, that in the couete is auncient partia
tes, yvolute dissensions, fearefull understandynge, rul
dente wortynnes, entraples of serpentes, tongues of sco
piounes, chany detractions, and felow that lese peace: and
wherop al them shalbe harken to the comon booke, every
man seth by his owne profytte. Every manne sheweth a
good perteine, and all are occupied to yit warkes: In such
the wytte that some by auarice lese they; good fame, and
some prodigally speyne and waite all they; goodes. what
shoule I saye more? In the couete every day the lodes
charinges and aler the faires, wortynnes fayres, and seye
nipes, abate noblenesse, exalte the unworthyn, bery the in
nocentes, and honour theues, loue flaterers, and dispise
they in the whiche be detractions, they embace delices, and
ambcrede betwene unbetwene: they wept for them that be
yile, and laughte from them that be good, and synfully.
- q1233

and done unto you before. It is not called vnde fice, that a
man be borne, but be born deth within the same. & howe
are the floures borne, that after they deth are fice by their
goodnesse to be named, haue deth scoures by them, though
theynes, that haue borne fice. There is fredome wher
noblenes abydeth. The prouers of thy person shall gyue the
more hardines and lybettie than any other partie of the empire.
It is a generall rule, that every baturous man of necessi
tate is to be holden hardye: and every vicious man of ne
cessitie is to be reputed a cowardye. Howe boldiye they be
chastised that be noted with any vice, and coldely they be
chastised that deserve chastyment. Let the pypnre be in a
statayn, that the loue of his people, and the lybettie of his
offyce, hath not wherwith to vpholde hym to armes synt
abrode on the earth, without the dyuers vertues assemby
in his person.

Cesar apole M. Crassus Cesar subdued mo nations by
the renomme of his vertues, than by bde Gaius his br
with his armes of many men. All the world tope of a ver
tuous pypnre: and it semeth that al the world tyldeth against
a bicious pypnre. Vileture is a strong castel, and can never
be wonne: it is a riuer wher never neyling, a fire that
troweth not, a fire that quencheth not, a treasure that no
met hath ende, an armes never overcome, a burden that no
met weyeth, a spie that euer knoweth, a sygne that ne
ver deceyveth, a playne wye that never faylyth, a sygn
that healeth forthwith: and a remoue that never per
deth. O my sonne if thou knewest what thynge it is to be
good, and what a man thou shuldest be if thou were ver
tuous, thou shuldest doo seruice to the goddes, good to
moure to thy selfe, pleasure to thy frenches, and engender
loue of straungers, and finally all the people shuldest
hathe and loue the.

I remembre, that in the boke of *peres*, of the battayle of Tarentyne, I founde, that the renowned Pyrrhus, kyng of the Epyrochiens, bare in a tynge grauen these wordes: To a vertuous man, is but a smalle rewarde, to be lord of all the earth: and it is but a small chastyment to take a vicious mans lyfe from hym.

Truely it was a worthy sentence of such a prince. What shynge is it, be it never so difficile, begonne by a vertuous man, but there is hope to haue a good ende therof. Sothly I haue sene in dyuers parties of myn empyre, dyuers men very darke of good fame, very lowe in goodes, and unknowen of their kynne and bloud: vndertake so great shynges, that to my semyng, it was a feareful audacitie to begynne. And yet by the wynges of vertue all onely they haue had good renoume at the last. By the immortall goddis, and as the god Jupiter brynginge me in his mancion, I stablyshe the, in all that is myne. There were ones, a gatwyner and a potter, dwellynge in Rome, whiche onely by their vertues, caused to put tenne vicious senatours out of the senate, and the syghte occasyon was, for makynge a badge of thorne, and a potte, for the workemanshyp and labour whereof, the Senatours wolde not paye them. I tell it the my sonne, bycause that byce maketh a bolde persone thoughtefulle, and vertue causeth hym, that is in thought, to take strength and boldnes. I was well ware of two thinges in my lyfe, not to pleade agaynst the clerenes of iustice, no; to take part agaynst a vertuous person: so; with vertue god susteyneth vs, and with iustyce the people are well gouerned and ruled.

Of other more parycular counsayles,
gyuen by the emperoure to his
sonne. Cap. xlvi.

M A R C V S



W^e to come to thinges more particuler. Se-
inge sonne, that thou arte yonge, and that na-
ture can not denye the: And as in all dyfficile
thynges, ripe counselle is necessarie, no lesse to
comfort the state of our lyuing, we desire some
recreations. For thy yonge, I leue þ with greet lordis chyl-
dren, with whom thou mayst passe the tyme: And to teache
the, I leue olde Romayns, that haue nouyshed the, a ser-
ued me, of whom thou shalt take counsell. The inuention
of interludes, of theatres, to fyſhe in pôdes, to hunt wilde
beastes, to course in the fieldes, to hauke for byrdes and to
exercise dedes of armes, are the thynges that thy yonge
desyret. And yonge with yonge ought to kepe compayne,
in doyng the same: But beholde my son, that in orderyng
of armes, to apply the warres, to pursue victories, to ac-
cepte truce, to confyrm peace, to reyse tributes, to make
lawes, to promote some, and dismisse other, to chastyce the
yll, and recompence the good: in all these thinges, that be
so chargeable, they that be of clere minde, redy broken and
trauayled of their bodies, & whyt heared, ought to be take
to couſel þ. And sith thou art yōge & lusty of body, reioyce
& spoſt with them that be yong: & whan thou art emperor,
then touching thy secrete affaires, take couſel of them þ be
old. Beware my son of all extremities. For as yll may the
prince be, vnder the colour of grauitie, to be rulyd by the
ancient persones, as vnder the colour of pastyme, to kepe
cōpany with yonge folkes. It is no generall rule, that all
yonge persons shall alwayes be yonge and lyght, nor that
all olde persons shulde be alwayes wyſe. I am ſure of one
thyng, that if the yonge man be borne with foly, the olde
man lyueth and dieth with couetyſe. Therfore my sonne
beware, be not extreme in extremities. For the yonge peo-
ple wyll corrupce the with their lyghtnes, and olde folkes
wyll

wil depryue thy mind with they; couetousnes. what thing
can be moxe monstros, than a p̄ince, that commaundeth
every man, to be commaunded of one? & othely the go-
uerning of diuers, can not be gouerned wel by the opini-
on of one alone. Than the p̄ince, that gouernethe many,
oughte to haue the intention and opinion of dyuers.

CIn the annales of the Pompeyens, I founde a lyttell
boke of remembrance, the which great Pompeie bare al-
way with hym: wherin were dyuers good counselles and
aduertisementes, the which were gyuen in diuers parties
of the w̄orlde: Amonge the whiche, I founde these wor-
des: He that gouerneth the common welthe, and putteth
the gouernance to them that be old, sheweth hym selfe vn-
able: and he that trusteth in youthe, is lyght: and he that
gouerneth by hym selfe alone, is hardy and bolde: and he
that gouerneth by hym selfe and other, is w̄yse. These
were notable wordes.

CThan my sonne, determinin the to take counsel, and spe-
cially in high thinges and maters of difficultie, and other
wise let them not be determinyned. For whan the counsayle
is taken of diuers, than yf any faute be, it shal be deuided
amonge them all. Though the determination myghte be
done by a fewe, yet take counsel of many. Amonge all thy
welthes, here the common counsel. For one wyl shewe the
all the inconuenience, an other the p̄evyll, an other the do-
mage, an other the p̄ofitte, an other the remedye. And
sette as wel thyn eyes upon the inconueniences, that they
lape, as upon the remedy, that they ofte. Whan thou be-
gynnest any harde mattier, esteme as well the small doma-
ges, that may befall aforē, and stoppe them, as to remedy
the great misfortunes, that come after. Of trouth þ strōg
and myghty shyppe ofte tymes for a small takynge hede
of the pylote, is sounken and d̄owned in a lyttell water:

Ha u and

M A R C V S

and an other shyppe, not so strong, with wise diligence, is saued in the gylfe of the see. Be not annoyed to take cou-
cill in smal matters euery houre. For many thynges forth-
with require to be loked to, and in abydyng for councel, it
endomageth. And that that thou canst dispatche by thyn
owne auctorite, without damage of the common welthe,
put it not to any other person. For sith thy seruice al onely
dependeth of thyn, the rewarde dependeth of the alone.

CIn the yere. vi. C. xxi. of the foundacyon of Rome, af-
ter the cruell warres done agenst the kynge of Numedie,
the day that Marius triumphed, without putting of any
of the riches, that he brought into the common treasury,
he deuided it to his men of warre. And whan he was ther-
fore accused, and asked, why he toke not fyfste the opinion
of the senate: He answered and sayde: Wythe they toke
not the opinion of other, to do me seruice, it were not reson
that I sholde take councell of other, to rewarde and rec-
pence them.

CSon, yet I wil aduertise the of other thinges. Verad-
uenture some wyll gyue the counsell, er thou demaund it:
In that case kepe this general rule: neuer abide the second
counsell of a man, yf he haue gyuen the counsell befoze in
the p^reuudyc^e of an other. For he offreth his wordes in thy
seruyc^e, to bringe the besynes to his owne profyte. O my
sonne, there are many thynges to knowe a man. Eb. yere
I haue ben senatour, consule, censure, capitayne, and tri-
bune: and. xviii. yeres I haue ben emperour of Rome, and
diuers haue spoken to me, in p^reuudyc^e of other, and many
mo, for they^r own profite, and none haue spoken clerely to
me, for the profite of other, nor for my seruice. Great com-
passion oughte to be taken of prⁱinces: for euery man folo-
weth them for they^r owne profite, & none for loue and ser-
vice. One counsell I toke for my selfe, all the whyle that

I haue

I haue gouerned Rome: I neuer kepte man in my house, after that I knewe hym hatefull agaynste the common welthe.

CIn the yere of the foudation of Rome. vi. C. lxx. of the Olympiade. C. lxxviii. Lucullus Patricien, greate frende to Sylla, boynge to the warre of Mithridates. It chaunced that in Tygoano, a citie of Caldiens, he found a plate of copet or brasse, vpon the kynges gates, wherin were certayne lytters, whiche they sayde were grauen there by the commandement of Alexander the great. The letters were in Caldee, conteynynge these sentences, That p^rince is not wyse, that wyll holde his lyfe in peryll, and wil not assure his lyfe and state with the loue of all men: That p^rince is not vertuous, that in giuunge moche to one person, wylleth all other to haue but lytell: That p^rince is not iuste, that wyll satisfye moche the couetise of one person, than the voices of all men: That p^rince is a fole, that dispiseth the councell of all other, and trusteth all onely vpon the opiniⁿon of one: And finally that p^rince is to bolde and hardye, that for the loue of one, wyll be hated of all other.

CThese were wordes of eternall memorie. And in dede these p^rinces sholde haue this alwayes in they^r presence. Sonne yet I shal say moche to the. This Lucullus Patriciens brought into the senate, all the tresure that he had, and this plate, with the sayd wordes theron, to thentente that they shulde chuse the one, and leaue the other. And the senate refused all the treasure, and toke the councelles written theron.

COf dyuers and particuler recommendations,
whiche the emperour commaunded
his sonne. Cap. xlvi.

Aa iii I haue



Haue shewed, lyke a fater, the thynges, that
 toucheth thy welth: Nowe I wyll shew the,
 what thou oughtest to do after my death, for
 my seruice. Those thinges, that I haue lo-
 ued in my lyfe, yf thou wylt be sonne to thy
 fater, esteime them after my deth. If yeste my sonne I re-
 commende to the, the worshyppe of the temples, and
 the reuerence of the priestes, with the honour of the god-
 dis. So longe shall the honour of the Romayns laste, as
 they perseuer in the seruice of the goddis. The realme of
 the Carthaginens perished not, bycause they were not so
 riche, or more cowardes than the Romayns: but bycause
 they loued their tresors to moch, and were but yll worship-
 pers and louers of the temples. My sonne I recommend
 to the Helia, thy stepmother, & rememb're, that though she
 be not thyne owne mother, yet she is my wyfe: and on the
 peyne of my cursing, suffre not that she be yl intreted. For
 the damage that she shuld suffre by thy cosent, shuld gyue
 evidence of the small thought, that thou takest of my deth
 which shuld be an iniury to thy life. I haue left to her the
 tributes and reuenues of Hostie, for to maynteyne her de-
 gre: and the gardens of Vulcan, which I caused to make
 for her recreaciō. And if thou take it fro her, thou shewest
 thyne ylnesse. And to suffer her to enjoy it, I commaunde
 the by thyne obedience, and to shewe her thy bountye and
 largesse. Rememb're she is a Romayn, yong, & a wydowe,
 of the house of my lord Traian, and how she is thy mo-
 ther adoptiſe, & my naturall wyfe; wherfore I leue her un-
 der thy recommendaciō. Also I comyt to the, thy bretherne
 in law: & thy sisters, my doughters. I leue them al maried
 not to straunge kynges, but to the naturall inhabitautes
 and citesens of Rome. They dwelle al within the walles of
 Rome, where as they may do the seruice, and thou mayſt

do them

do the good. Son intrete them in such wise, that though their good father be deade, yet let them haue fauour. And though they se their brother emperour of Rome, yet let the not be defouled. women be of a ryght tender cōdition, they wyl complayne for a smalle cause, and for lesse they wylle tyse vp in p̄yde, thou oughtest to conserue them after my deth, as I haue done in my lyfe. For otherwyse they; conuersation shulde be fekyll to the people, and importunate to the. Also I cōmyt to the Lipula thy sister, that is amōg the virgins Vestales. Thinke that she is daughter of thy mother Faustin, whiche I haue greatly loued in my lyfe, & vnto the houre of my death, I haue lamented hers. Every pere I gaue to thy sister. ii. M. serters, for her necessities: she had ben as well maryed as the other, yf she had not be b̄ent in the bysage: whiche was esteemed of euery man an pladuerture, and specially of her moder, that wept alway for her. But I esteme that yll aduenture, a good fortune. For yf she had not ben b̄ent in þ face with fire, she had in the worlde, as touchyng her renome, be b̄ent with diuers tonges. Son, I swere to the, that for the seruice of þ goddes, & the fame of men, she is more surer with the virgins in the temple, than though she were in the senate, with the senatours. I deime, þ at the ende of the tourney, she shall finde her selfe better at ease, closed & locked in, than thou with all thy libertie. In the prouynce of Lucany, I haue lefte for her, the. ii. M. serters: I wyl not that thou take them fro her. Also I cōmytte Drusia the wydowe to the, whiche hath layd a great proces against the senate, bycause þ by motions afore passed, her husband was banished: I haue great compassyon of her: for it is thre monethes, sith she put in her demaunde, and bycause of my great warres I coude not declare her iustyce. Sonne, thou shalt fynde it trewe, that in. xxxv. pere, that I haue gouerned Rome, there

M A R C V S

there was never wydow, that helde her processe before me,
passyng. viii. dayes. Take compasyon of suche. For wo-
mennes necessities are tyght petyllous, and at the laste, yf
their besynes be longe in hande, they recouer not so moche
of theyr goodes, as they lese in theyr renowme. Also haue
compasyon of pooze men, and the goddis shall rewarde
the, with great ryches. Also I commyntte to the, my aunci-
ent seruantes, to whom my longe yeres and cruel warres,
my often necessities, the displeasure of my bodye, and my
longe syckenesses, hath ben tyght paynefull. For they, as
true seruantes, to gyue me lyfe, haue taken peyn vnto the
deth. It is reason, that syth I haue taken their deth, that
they inherite parte of my lyfe. One thyng I holde for cer-
tayne, In case that my bodye abyde in the sepulchre with
wormes, yet I shall alwayes, before the goddis haue re-
membraunce of them. In this doyng, thou shalt do as a
good chylde, to satisfye them, that haue serued thy father.
Take hede my son, euery prynce, doing Justice, acquireth
ennemis in the execution therof. And this is done by the
that are mooste nere to hym. For the more priuie they are
with the prince, the moxe hatefull they are to the people.
And though euery man loueth iustyce in general, yet they
all hate the execution therof in particular. Whan a iuste
prince is dead, the people take vengeaunce of the vniuste
seruantes. Whan thou were a chylde, my seruantes noz-
shed the, to the entent, that thou sholdst susteyne them in
their age. Surely, it were great shame to the empire, an of-
fence to the goddis, an iuriarie to me, and an vngentelnes
of the, that thou hast foud them. xviii. yeres, with their ar-
mes abrode to halse the, that they shold fynde one day thy
gates shet agaist them. These thynges I comynt to þ par-
ticularly, kepe them alway in memory. And syth I remem-
bre them at my deth, consider how I loued them in my lyfe.

¶

¶ Of the last wordes that thumperour spake to his son,
and of a table that he gaue hym. Capit. xlviij.

Whan the emperour had ended his said recom-
mendations, the dape began to sprynge, and
his eye stringes began to breke, and his tonge
faultered, and his handes shoke. Than the said
happy emperour, felynge that weakenes be-
gan soore to drame aboue his harte, he commaunded Pa-
nuntius to go into his studye, and to bryng to hym a coffre
that was there. And whan it was brought to his presence
he opened it, and toke out a table of thre fote broode, and
two fote longe, it was of wood Lybanus, & rounde about
garnished with vnicorne. It was closed with two leaues,
subtylly wroughte of a red wood, that some sayde was of
the tree that the Phenix bredeth in: and is called Rasyn.
And as there is but one bynde Phenix bredyng in Arabie:
so lykewise there is no more trees in the wold of the same
kynde. On one of the outward partyes of the table was
pynctured a grauen to god Jupiter: on the other the god-
desse Venus: In the inward partyes of the Table that
shette, was pynctured god Mars, and the goddesse Ceres:
In the pyncipall of the sayd table was pynctured a Bulle
subtylly wrought to the quycke, and vnder that a kynge
was pynctured. The whiche payntures were sayde to be of
the handi warke of the expert Appelles an ancient wōke
man in payntyng. Than the emperour toke the table in
his hande, and with great payne, he sayd: Thou seest my
sonne Comodus, how I am al redy scaped from the trap-
pes of fortune, and am enterynge into the heuy aduentu-
res of deathe. I wote not why the goddis haue creted vs,
syth there is so great annoyance in our lyfe, & so great pe-
rylle at our deathe. I understande not why the goddis
Bb haue

haue and vse so great crueltye to the creatures. ¶ Item. yete
 I haue sayled with great traunarie through the great pe-
 rylls of this lyfe: and at this howre I am commaunded
 to take lande and dyscharge me of my fleshe, and to take
 erthe in the sepulchre. Nowe vntoþt the lyuþt thredes,
 nowe vndoerh the spynell, nowe tyuþt the webbe, nowe
 endeth my lyfe. Now am I awaked from the sleepynge e-
 uyll: teme mþryng howe I haue passed my lyfe, I haue
 no more deþye to lyue. And in that I knowe not whiche
 waye to go, I refuse dethe. What shall I do? I am deter-
 myned to put me into the handes of the goddis wþlyng-
 ly, sythe I muste do so of necessitie. whome I require, þf
 they haue created me so; any goodnes, not to depriue me
 fro them so; my demetytes. I am nowe in the laste gate;
 and to this howre I haue kepte the greateſt and most ex-
 cellent iewell that I coude fynde in all my lyfe. In the t.
 yere of myn empire there arose a warre agaynst the Par-
 theſ: wherfore I determyned in myne own person to gunt
 them battayle. After that warre I came by the auncient
 citye of Thebes, so; to see some antiquitie. Amonge the
 whiche in a pþſtes howſe I fonde this table, the whiche
 as a kynge was reþed in Egypte, incontynente it was e-
 uer hanged at his beddes heed, and this pþþest shewed me
 that it was made by a kynge in Egypte named Pþtholomie
 Atſacides, that was a vertuous pþynce. And in the memo-
 rie of hym, and example of other, the pþſtes kepte it dilig-
 ently. And sonne I haue kept it alwaye with me: and I
 beseche the goddis, that ſuche may be thy warkes, as ther
 in thou mayſt fynde good counſell. As empetour I leauē
 the heþre of many countreys and realmes: and as thy fa-
 ther I do gyue vnto the this table of counſaples. Lette
 this be the laſte wþde, that with the cimþre thou ſhalt be
 feated, and by this table thou ſhalte be beloved.

This

This sayde, and the table deliuered to his sonne, the emperour turned his eyen, and within a quartre of an houre he yelded the spirite.

¶ Now to retouerne to the sayd table and wriiting. There was written betwene the bulle and the kyng a scrowe in Grecke letters, in maner of heroicall verses, conteynynge in our bulgat tonge thus. I never chose ryche tirant, nor abhorded the poore iust man. I never denyed iustyce to a poore man for his ponerie, nor pardoned a ryche man for his great goodes and rychesse: I never dyd good deedes, nor never gaue hym for affection, nor gaue correction onely for the peyne: I never left ylnes unchastised, nor goodnes without rewarde: I never commytted an other to do iustyce that was clere, nor darke iustyce I never determinyd by my selfe alone: I dyd never denye iustyce to them that demaunded it, nor mercy vnto hym that deserued it: I never dydde correction for angre, nor promyssed any rewarde in my myyth: I was never charged with thoughtes in my prosperite, nor dispayred in myne aduertisitie: I never comitted yl by malycie, nor any villany for auarice: I never opened my gates to flatterers nor dyssemblers, nor lystened myn eares to mutmurers: I haue laboured alwayes to be loued of them that be good, and to be dread and feared of them that be yll: And fynally I haue fauored the poore, that myght do but lyttell, and haue be fauored of the goddis that may do moche.

¶ Bytherto is shewed brefely the worthy and laudable lyfe of the emperour Marcus Aurelius, and of his deathe.

And hereafter ensueth
the seconde partie
of his boke.

CLetter sente by Martinus Mandelius to Pyramon

his specciall frende. Capion 1512.

CThe fyfte letter.



At the oratour Romayn, borne at mount Celi to Pyramon of Lyon, my greate frende, desyryngge salutation to thy person, and strength and vertu against thy sinister fortune. In the thyde Kalendes of Januarie I received thy letter, wherby I perceyue thou hast received one of myn. I set smal store by thy wordes, but I esteme greatly what thou meaneſt by them. So that without declaynge therof I haue gadred the ſentence. Reason wold, bycause I haue wriuen ſo often to the, that thou ſhuldest the better vnderſtande me: but thou arte ſo ſlouthfull, that though I call the, thou wylt not here: no; thoughe I ſtyke the, thou wylte not ſeele. But nowe to come to the purpoſe. Thou knowest well Pyramon, howe nere we be in paten-
tage, auncyent in frendfypp, ſtedfaſte in loue, and ten-
der of hartes: and whan ſo euer thou put it in expeſence, than one true frende ſhall proue an other. Thou remem-
berest well, when we were at Rodes, that we dwelled togy-
ther in one house, and dyd eate at one table, and all that thou thoughtest I dyd it in effecte: and that I ſayd, thou neuer gaynsaydest. Certaynly thou were in my harde, and I in thyne entrayles. I was thyne, and thou were myne. We beinge together, hit ſeimed to all other that we were but one, and of one wyll. What is it my frende Pyramon? Thou writest how thou arte heuy, and yet thou doest not ſhewe the cauſe why: thou complaynest þ thou art almost dead, and thou ſhewest me not who taketh thy life fro the. If thou wylt not ſhewe to my thyn yll deſtemes, ſith thou arte

Bb in lyue.

lyue. Regarde frende what thou wylt do. For thyne cupynd
 and myne, tormente bothe one herte. If thou haue displea-
 sure, all thynges dysplease me: yf thou wepe, I swere fro
 hensforth neuer to laughe: yf thou dyscharge the of thy
 peyne, fro hensforth I shal take it for myne: yf thou go a-
 lone, I wyl forsake company, and forthwith lyue solytari-
 ly. What wylt thou that I shuld desyre? For all that eu-
 thou wylt I wyl. Thou complaynest that in all thy tra-
 uayles thou canst fynd no parent to remedy the, nor fren-
 to counsel the. I swere to the my frende Pyramon, that
 these two thynges I haue as moch pouertye in my house
 as thou hast sorrow in thyng. I know well the remedy shulde
 come by ryches, and by councell, and consolation of them
 that be wyse. And by reason of my hevy destynies, slouth
 hath taken fro me the knowlege of wyldeome: and fortune
 wyl not permitt me to haue great ryches. Certaynly I
 wepe for thy myserie, and yet there is but small remedy in
 me. Thou sayeste in thy letter, that thy neyghbours and
 frendes in promysynge haue behighte the many thynges:
 but in giuyng they do no thyng. Hereof I meruayle: for
 the vertuous hand is not bound to make the tonge a fol.
 Truly though our fete daunce, our handes shulde werk
 at the sowne of the tonge: our lyfe endethe in fewe dayes,
 and our renoume in fewer. Promys is an auncient custom
 among the sonnes of vanite, and of custome the tonge spe-
 keth hastily, and the handes woketh at leasure. Nowe lett
 vs speake more particularly.

CThou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou fyndest
 not but in a fewe, that dyuers haue founde in the alone.
 Custome is to receyue forthwith and meretely, and to gyue
 slowelye with yll wylle and repentaunce. They that be
 presumptuous do the one, and they whiche be slouthfull,
 do the other. The Grekes saye: that he that promyseth
 and

And is longe in fulfyllyng, is but a slacke frende. we Ro-
 leynys say, that he is moche better that denieth forþwith
 because he wyl not begyle hym that asketh. In this case
 say, He that may gyue and gyueth not, is a clere enne-
 amy: and he that promyseth forþwith, and is longe oþ he
 amy it, is but a suspicioþ frende. what nedē wordis to our
 frendes, whā we may succour them with wōkes? Is it not
 a right, to whome we giue our hartes, which is þ best thing
 in þis wōk, that we giue him our tongue, that is the wōste
 wōke of all our wōkes? In good soþe the goddes wylle
 not suffre in the place of amitie, to desire any thynge of our
 frend in hast, & to be dñuen it of with longe delaying. þa
 in his lawes sayþ, we comande, that in our gouer-
 nge, that poltyke counsayle be gyuen to them, that be
 in þrosperytie, to thentent that they decay not: and to suc-
 cur them that be in heunes and trouble, to thentent that
 they despayre not. Certaynly vnder these wordes are com-
 ysed dñuers great sentēces. Thou knowest wel my frēd
 þitamō, that swete wordes cōfōrt the hart but lytel that
 is in tribulatiōn, but yf there be some good wōkes ther-
 with. I wyl nat deny, but that they, to whom we haue gy-
 en oure good wylles in the tyme of our þrosperytie, be
 bounde to gyue vs of they; goodes, & to shewe vs fauour
 in our aduersitie. I demande oue thynge of the, wherfore
 holdest thou a þesumptuous lycence to demaunde? And
 approuest on the other part the lybertie of denieng. Truly
 as there is shame in the demandyng, there is obligatiō in
 soþe thynge to deny: an unþortunate man is not worthy to
 haue mercy. Thou mayst knowe, yf thou knowe it not my
 frēd þitamō, that to attayn to euery thing þ is demāded,
 belongeth only to the goddes. To giue al thing that is de-
 māded is no signe of any setuāt. And to deny any thing is
 of liberte. To weþ for þ is denied is the cōditiō of turātis

And

M A R C V S

And to conne no thanke for that is gyuen, is the condit^{expe}
on of the Barbaryens: and to haue euer a stedfaste hoop^{the l}
of that is denied, is the guyse of the Romaynes. One of th^{me}
these thinges, wherein G^{ay}us Cesar shewed hym selfe to^{col}
be of high courage was, that he had mooste greatest ioy^{ste}
whan the senate refused any thyng^{expe} desyred by hym. Of
tentymes he sayde: There is nothyng^{expe} wherin Rome gy-
ueth me more gloze and renouine to my persone, thanne
whan I shewe my selfe most hasty to demaunde, and they
mooste stiffe to denye me: to thentent that after they shuld
knowe, what is my power to abyde, and how lytell they^{tric}
strength is to resist. Me thynk it is better to haue recours^{son}
to the goddis with vertues, than to displease theym with
quarelles. And to gyue contentation to thy reposid wyll,
whan thou seest thy selfe in trybulation: and that thou de-
maundest of the goddis and of men to be frustrate, thou
oughtest to measure it with a ryght measure, and to payse^{sta}
it in a ryght balaunte, the great quantitie that hath bene
gyuen to the, and the lytell quantitie that hath be graun-
ted the. O how uncourteyse be we to the goddis, and of
small remembraunce to men, whan we mynishe with for-
getfulnes, that we haue receyued of them: and that lytle
that hath ben refused vs, we augment it with complaing-
teres of age, and all that season thou haste done nothyng
but receyued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue nat sene
the do one day of seruice. Certaynly it is no reason to co-
playne of. viii. dayes of yll fortune, beyng fyfty yeres of
age. Thou sayest in thy letter, howe thou hast moch peyn,
bycause thou knowest al thy neghbour^{expe}s to be enuyous.
In good sooth I haue peyne for thy peyne, and of thy me-
uaylyng I haue great meruayle. For all admiration pro-
cedeth but by surmountynge of ignorance, and faulte of
expe

xperience. Doth the quicke vnderstanding of men rule
the lyfe of the that be mortall, that they nedē not to thinke
of the trauayle to come, hauyng in they; handes hasty re-
medy? If they be hungry, they maye eate: whan they are
colde, they maye warme them: yf they be sleepy, they maye
slepe: whan they be wery, they maye reste: whan they are
ycke, they maye be healed: whan they are heuy, they maye
moyce in suchē maner, that the thoughtfull lyfe passeth,
some to make tiltes and lystes, some to make armure and
staffoldes, some to inuente newe gynnes, and some to re-
payre bulwarkes. I say the wold and the flesh do nought
but fyght agaynst vs, and we haue nedē at all tymes
to defend vs fro them. All these remedyes are agaynst the
trauayle of the fleshe. But what shall we do, that the cur-
senes of envy extende not amonge all these? Cursed is
that welthe, that euery man enuieth. Certaynly agaynste
envy is no fortresse to defend, no; caue to hyde, no; hyl
to mounite on, no; thycke wodde to shadowe in, no; shyppe
to scape in, no; horſe to beare away, no; money to redeine
vs. Envy is so venomous a serpent, that there was never
mortall man amonge mortalles, that coulde scape fro the
bytyngē of her tothe, and scratchyngē of her nayles, foy-
lyngē of her fete, and poisonyngē of her poysone. I swere
to the my fren̄d Pyramon, that such as fortune lifteth vp
with great tyches, she full of crueltie gyueth theym pro-
founde bytynges. Envie is so enuious, that to them, that
of her are mooste denyed, and sette fardest of, she gyuethe
most cruell strokēs with her fete. This vnhappye enuye
preparēt poysone secretly fro them that be in teste among
dyuers pleasures.

I haue redde dyuers bookeſ of Hebrewe, Grecke, La-
tyn, and Caldee. And also I haue spoken with many very
wisc men, to ſe if there might be foud any remedy againſt

an enuious man. I confess the truth: Rede all that can be redde, and imagine all that can be, deinaunde all that can be demaunded, and ye shall fynde none other cure agenst this cursed enuye, but to banyshē vs fro all prosperitie, and to syttē with aduerte fortune. O howe vnhappy are they that be in prosperitie: for iustly they that be sette vp in hygh estate, can not sice from the perylle of Scilla, without fallynge into Charibdis. They can not scape the peryll, without castynge thei; treasures into the see. I say that the malady of enuy wyll not suffre them to scape fro deth, and the medicine that is applyed to them, wyll not assure their lyfe. I can not determinyne me, whiche is the best, or to saye more propertly the worse, extreme miserie without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperite, that is always threatened to falle. In this case to be so extreme I wyll not determin me, sith in the one is a perillous lyfe and in the other renoume is sure.

CI shall tell the, what wise Cicero sayde, whan he was pursued with many at Roime: Beholde you Romayns, I holde you not for so good, nor my selfe so ylle, to saye the trouth always, nor always to make lyes. I am certayne, that ye bere me none enuye, for that I am not as ye be, but it is bycause ye can not be as I am. In this case I had rather that my ennemis had enuye at my prosperytie, than my frendes at my pouertie.

CThis oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leuyng to gyue remedy to them that be sorrowfull. And after this Cicero had sene the feldes of far sayle, he toke other counsell and remedy, suche as pleased hym in Roime. For if Cesar had granted him his goodes, yet he turned not his credence and renoume. Surely frend Pyramo I know no remedy to gyue the agenst enuy, sith thou seest al the world ful therof. we se how we be þ sons of

of envy, and we liue with envy, & dye with envy, & he that
lenueth most ryches, leueth the greatest envy. The ancient
wise men couisailed rich men, that they shuld not haue poore
folkes nere them: and they admonished the poore, that they
shuld nat dwelle nere to the rych. And truly it is good rea-
son. For the rychesse of rich men is the sede of envy to the
poore. And bycause the poore man lacketh & the riche hath
to moche, causeth discorde among þ people. I swere by the
goddis immortall, friend Pitaino, though they that be yll
wolde that I shold swere falselij, as moch as ryches with
thought nourisheth couetise, so moch the envious nourisheth
envy therby. I tell the one thyng, and that is, that it is
no good counsell to flee envy, and to auoyde the vertue to
marye the same. Homer sayth, that in his tyme there were
two Grekes extreme in all extremities: The one was ex-
treme in ryches, & therfore he was psecuted by envy, & that
was Achilles: & the other was soþe noted of malice, but no
man had envy at hym, and that was Thiestes. Certaynly
I had leuer be Achilles with his envy, þā Thiestes with-
out it. Thou knwest well, that we Rounaynes serche not
but for reste in our lyfe, and for honour after deaþe. And
sith it is so, it is not possyble but the man that euery man
envieth his renoume, ought to be exalted in the rest of his
lyfe. And sith I se these two thynges in the, such as be
thy frenedes taketh lytell thought, for that thy enemyes
marinure against the. Thou wþtest to me, howe they of
Lyons do well, and are mery, excepte thy selfe, that arte
heuy, and full of pensyuenesse. And sith they shewe not to
haue pleasure at thy dyspleasure, shewe not thy selfe dys-
pleased with their plesure. For it maye chaunce one daye
they shalbe sorrowfull, whan that thou arte merye: than
thou shalt be quite with them. In an euyll persone there
can be no greater yll, nor in a good man a greater faute,

Cc ii than

M A R C V S

than to be displeased with an other mans welthe, and to take pleasure at an other mans harme. And in case that al do vs damage with enuie, yet moch more a frende, than the enemy. For of myn enmy I wyll bware, and for feare he wyll withdrawe: but a frende with his amitie may be gyle me, and I by my fidelitie shal not perceyue. Amonge all mostall enemies there is none wors than a frende that is enuyous of my felicitye. Pyramon my frende, I wyll conclude, ys thou wylt withdrawe thy selfe fro enemynes, than kepe company with thyn owne familiar frendes. I wote not what to write moze to the, but with all my harte I lamente thy heuynesse. Thou knowest howe thy nyef Buzia was slayne with a dagger by her owne husbande. I had great compassyon for her deth, and for the renoun that she lefte behynde her. Flauius priscus thyn uncle is newly made Censure. The processe betwene thy brothe fornio and Bxitio is determined by the senate, and hit pleaseith me ryght well, that they be frendes, and every man well content. The boke intytuled the consolation of heuynesse I haue ended, and layde it in the capitol. I haue written it in Greke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to the. But I do sende the a rychswerde, and a fayre gyrdell. Faustine my wyfe dothe salute the, and sendethe thy wyfe two sclaues. The goddis be my kepers, and comforte the in thy present heuynesse. Marke the man fortunate, w Pyramon soye discomforted.

CA letter sent by Marcus the Emperour to Cornelius of the trauaile of warre, and vanitie of triumphe.

CThe seconde letter.

Marcus



Ecce emperour of Rome to the Comte-
 lius my faythfull frende, salutation to
 thy person, and good fortune to thy dest-
 red lyfe. Is thou in tyne passed, haste
 bene partener of my trauayles, I haue
 sente to calle the to gyue the pleasure of
 my tryumphes. By the haboundance of
 rychedesse, diuersitie of captiues, fiersnes of capitayns that
 we haue brought to Rome, thou mayst perceyue what pe-
 cys we haue suffred in this warre. The partnes are good
 men of warre: & as euery man syndeth in theyr own lande
 defendeth their houses with stonge hart: and surely they
 do lyke good men. Soz without reason we dye of affection
 to take other mens goodes: & they with reason do labouer
 to defende that is their owne. Lette no man take enuy at
 the Romayn capitayn, for any triumph that is gyuen him
 by his mother Rome: for one daye of honour, he is a. M.
 dayes in dispaire of his lyfe. I wylle not speake that I
 myght say of them that be in warre, and dwel in Rome, &
 ben cruell iuges of theyr owne faine. And sith that the p-
 pye renome of a man lyeth in other folkes tonges, it is not
 sayde bycause his persone hath meryted, but bycause that
 they doo shewe theyr enuye. But our foolynnes is so fo-
 lyshe, and the reputation of men so wayne, that for one
 wayne worde, more than for our profytte, we put our lyfe
 in daunger, and lay our honour to gauge with trauayle,
 rather then to lyue, and to assure our renoume with teste.
 I swere by the goddis immortall, that the daye of my try-
 umph being in the chariot, I was as pensiue as I myght
 be. O Rome cursed be thy folys, & wo be to hym that hath
 brought vp in the soo moche pride. And cursed be he that
 hath inuented so great pompe in the. What greater or
 more vnegall lyghtnes can be, than that a Romayn ca-
 pitayn

Cc iii pitayn

M A R C V S

pitayn, because he hath conquered realnes, altered peasi-
 bles, dystroyed cityes, caste downe fortresses, robbed the
 poore, enriched tyrantis, shedd moche bloode, and made
 infinite wydowes, shoulde for recompence of all these do-
 mages be receyued with great triumph. Where hast thou
 scene a greter folys? Infinitie nombre is distroyed in warre,
 & one alone shal beare away the gloriy therof: And though
 such miserable conquerours merited not to be buried, yet
 whan I went through the stetes of Rome (I tell it as a
 secrete betwene the and me) that whan the charpot tryum-
 phaunt came, and the vnhappy pypsoners charged with
 yrons, remembryng the infinite treasures yll gotten, and
 hetyng the lamentations of the wydowes sorrowfully we-
 pynge for the death of theyr husbandes, and callynge to
 mynde our manyfolde frendes deed: though I revenged
 me openly, I wepte drosses of blode secretely. I canne
 not tell what personne taketh pleasure in hym selfe of an
 other mannes dammage. In this case I prayse not the
 Assyriens, nor I enuye not the Persians, nor am contente
 with the Lacedemoniens, nor approue the Caldeens, nor
 content me with the Greces. I curse the Troyans, and
 condempne them of Carthage, bycause they folowed not
 the zeale of iustyce, but what they dyd in their tyme was
 with rage of pryde, wherby they and theyr realnes were
 brought into sclaunder, and was occasyon to lese vs. O
 cursed Ronic, cursed thou haste ben, and cursed thou shal
 be. for if the fatal destynies deceiue me not, & myn under-
 standyng fayle me not, and that fortune holde not faste,
 we shall see in tyne to come Rome shall be in lyke case as
 other realnes be nowe in our dayes. And where as nowe
 with tyranny thou arte lady ouer all seignouryes, it shall
 come by iustyce, that thou shalte come to be bondyng to
 them, that are nowe vnder thy bondage. O ylle fortu-
 nate

nate Rome: I say it bycause that vertue is so dere in the
and makest folpe so greate cheape. Peraduenture thou
art more antentive than Babylon, fayrer than Hely, ry-
cher than Carthage, stronger than Troye, better peopled
thanne Thebes, more storied with shippes than Counthe,
more delicious than Thycie, more impugnable than I-
quille, more happy than Numancie: we see howe they all
are perfyshed, so all theyz vertues and valyant defenders
and thou hopest to abyde perpetually, storied with them þ
be vicious, and peopled with suche as be full of vycie. O
Rome, marke this for certayne, that the glore that thou
haft at this houre, was fyre theys: and this destruction
that nowe is theyz, hereafter shall be thyn. My dere frēd
Cornelius, shall I shewe the the losse of the Romayne
people, but I can not tell it the without wepyng: I the
emperour of Rome comandaunce, I make dectees for the
warre: if any countrepe arysse, by sowynge of a trou-
pette to make menne to reysse theyz baners, and to crete
newe Capptaynes. And hit is a thynge verye cuydente, to
see, that whan they reysse theyz standerdes, and haue leaue
to make and assayle ennemyes, chyldren leaue theyz mo-
thers, studentes leaue theyz scholes, seruauntes, for sake
theyz maysters, and officers theyz offyces, to the entente
that vnder the colour and crachte of goynge to warre, they
shulde not be chasyssed by iustycie. They haue noo feare
of the goddes, noz reuerence to the temples, noz obedien-
ce to theyz fathers, noz loue noz awe of the people, and
loue to lyue p̄dilly, and hate ruste labour, and theyz ex-
cyses are domagcable. Somme do robbe the churches,
somme make quarelles and stryfes, and some breake
gates open and beare the goddes away. Somcyme they
take theym that be at libertie, and deluyer theym that
shulde be p̄soners. They passe the nyghtes in playes,

and

and the days in blasphemies: finally they ar vnfete to do wel: & are holly disposcd to do yl. what shall I say of their neclgencie: I am ashamed to wryte it. They leaue theyr owne wyues and take other mens. They dyshonour the daughters of honeste men, and begylle yonge maydens. They enforce theyr hostesses, and neyghbours wiues: and wost of all, the women that do go with them, sette theym agog that do tarye. And so in this maner none of these women that so go, scapeth without losse of honour, and the other are striken w vices in theyr hartes, because they tarye. Thinke surely Cornelius, that the enteynures are smalle, wher as women do goo to warre. Thou knowest, that the women Amazones haue made greater warre in Grec e, than the cruell ennemis, and not so; bycause they had not men ynowe, but bycause they were so many women. Pyrrhus was overcome by Alexander. The valyant capitayne Hannibal was lord of Italy, as long as he suffered no women to come in his warres. And when he was enamoured of a fayre yonge damoyself of Capue, he was faine forthwith to turne his back to Rome, because Rome clensed the felde fro lecherie. For the same cause Numancie was caste to the erthe. And I my selfe haue sene in the warre of Parthes. xvi. M. horse men. lxx. M. fote men, and. xxxv. M. women. And our besynes went so, that fro our hoste I sent away Faustine my wyfe, and so dydde other senatours their wyues home to theyr houses, to thentent that they shulde scru them that were olde, and bring vp theyr chyldren. That daye that a Patricion is appoynted by the Senate, and ledde aboute Rome by the Consules, the egle is hanged at his bosome, and his rayment is reade, and he after tyseth in suche pypde, that he remembreteth not the pouertye of the tymie passed, but thynketh to be emperour of Rome forthwith. Beholde than what they

they do. They w;ith their berdes, and ruffle their heares, boystous their w;ordes, they chaunge they; clothes, & tolle their eien, that they may seme the fierser. And finally, they loue to be feated, a hate to be loued. And wotest thou not, that they wyll be feated? On a day beyng at Pentapolyn, I harde a capitayne of myne, not seinge me, swere & blasphem, sayenge to a woman his hostesse: ye byllaynous people, wyll not knowe the capptaynes of warre: I wyll thou knowest mother, that the erthe neut trembleth, but whan it is thret of a capitayne Romayne: and god never causeth the sonne to shyne, but where as we be obeyed.

But nowe frende Cornelius, sythe I haue blasoned his haunt, harken his vertue and worthynesse. I swere to the that the sayd capptayne, for all his boste, beyng in a cruel battayle, was the fyre that fled alone fro the batayle, and lefte the standerd: wherin he dydde inough, to cause me lose the field. But whan it was done I caused to strike of his heed. It is an infallyble rule, that they that shewe them selfe mooste fiersse, in effecte are mooste cowardes.

In dyuers booke s I haue redde, and of diuers I haue harde, and in many I hane seene, that it can not fayle in a man that can suffre and take pacience, to haue vertue and force: And it is meruaple, that he is stonge and valyant, that can not suffre. What shall I say more of the greues and damages, that these menne of warre do, in passyng through realmes, & of theftes and robberies, that they comypte in the houses, where as they lodge? I ensure the, the wome in þ tynbre, no; the mothes in the clothes, no; the sparcle in the towe, no; the darning amoge the coine, no; the wseell among the gragn, no; þ caterpyllers in frupt trees, dothe not so moche damage, as one compayne of menne of warre dothe hurtte the poore people. They leaue ned cattayle unslayne, no gardyne unrobbed, no wylde beast

DD uncha-

chased, no; no mayde vndesloured: and yet whiche is wox; they eate without payment, and they wyl not serue without payment, no; no man can conuerse & endure amonge them. Whan they are payd, by and by they play it awaie; if they be not payde, they robbe, and grudge: and the case is come to so great corruption, that if thou sawest it, thou woldest saye, that eche of them were the heed of rumour, and the begynnyng of stryfe, povson to vertues, pypate of rouers, and capitayne of all wretched theues. I say not this without wepyng. It is the greateste mockynge of all mockeries: and the cause goeth to suche losse and pdition, that these myscheuous people are our homely & familiar enimies: & yet there is no emperour, that can haue lordshyppe ouer them, no; iustyce chastyse them, no; feare withdrawe them, no; lawe subdue them, no; shame restrain them, no; dethe that can kyll theym, so; they be men remedlesse: They ouerrenne, and eate, and dispople euery manne. O how sorrowfull I am for the Roine, that was not wont to haue in the suche yll aduentures. Cettaynly in the auncyent tyme whan thou were peopled with right and trewe R̄mayns, and not as thou artt nowe with basarde chyldeyne, than the armes, that wente froo Rome, were as well disciplyned and moxigerate, as the schooles of the philosophies, that were in Grece. The olde auncyent hy stories wytnesse, that kyng Philipp of Macedony, and his sonne Alexader, were happy in warre, because thei kepte theyr armes soo well ordered, that it seemeth beter, to be a senate ruled, than an armee that wolde fyghte. I swere to the by myn honestie, that fro the tyme of Quintus Cincinatus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcellus (in the whiche tyme was the greateste p̄spective of Rome) the common people had great glorie, as longe as the discipline of knyghthooode was welle corrected: and we began

gaine to lose, whan our capptaynes beganne to deserue,
to be depraued and condemned. O cursed be thou Asye,
and cursed be the day, that we hadde conquest of the. The
goodnes that hath folowed therby, we se it at our eye: and
the damage that is come by the, shall alwayes be sorrowed
In the we haue wasted our treasures, and thou hast fyl-
led vs with thy vyses: In chaunge of stonge and ver-
tuous men, thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: We haue
ouercome thy cyties, and thou triumphest of our vertues:
we haue beaten downe thy fortresses, & thou hast distroyed
our good customes: by force thou arte become ours, and
with our good wylles, we are nowe thyne. Unjustly we
are lordes of thy realmes, and we are iust subiectes to thy
vices. Finally, thou Asye shalt be the sepulchre of Rome,
and thou Rome shal be the syncke and gutter of the fyl-
thynes of Asye. Certaynly Rome ought to haue ben con-
tent with the landes of Italy, whiche is the nauyll of the
world, without conqueryng the landes of Asye, to bereue
them from other. I lyke wel al thinges that I haue red of
my p^redecessours, sauyng that they were p^rowde, as we
they^r successors be to hardy. And I sweare vnto the, that
yet peraduenture, after the peyne, we shall becomme ver-
tuous and good. All the ryches and tryumphes, that our
forefathers haue broughte out of Asye, the goodes and
the rychesse, and they also, with the tyme at laist hadde an
ende: but the wantonnesse and vyses, that are in vs they^r
chidren, doothe remayne stille vnto this daye. I wolde
to god, that the p^rincis knewe, what an outragious thing
it is, to inuente warres in straunge landes and countreis,
and what trauple they setche in they^r persons, and what
thoughtes in their myndes, and what murmur and moc-
ion in they^r subiectes, what ende and wastinge of they^r ry-
chesse and treasures. What pouertye to they^r frendes,

M A R C V S

what pleasure to they; enneies, what domage to their na
 tive countreys, and what poysone they leaue to their owne
 enherytours? I swcate to the, that if I had knowen, that
 I do knowe (I wyll not say, but by bloude shedde they be
 taken) if they had offered them selfe with good wylle, and
 shedyng of teares, I wolde not haue taken theym. The
 trouth is, that our cappytaynes never slewe. xx. M. men of
 Asie, with they; armour, that they bare out of Italy, but
 they loste mo than a C. M. Romayns, with the vices that
 they broughe to Rome: As eatynge openly in the palayes
 Ausonios, suppyng in their houses secretly, the women
 to cloth them as men, & the men peynted as women. The
 Patritiens bearynge Measques, The plebeyens vsinge
 smelles, and the emperours to weare purpull. These. vii.
 vices of Asie. Asie sent for a p̄esent to Rome. Deue noble
 capitayns broughe them, I leaue to shewe they; names,
 leste I shulde shame theym with they; faultes, syth they
 were so noble men by they; hyghe dedes. Howe ye p̄incis
 beholde what profitte it is, to take straunge realmes with
 our warres: I leaue the vices, that they recouer, and the
 vertues that they lese, with the perdition of they; treasure
 that they loue. For certayne there is neyther kynges nor
 realme broughe to extreme pouertye, but by warrynge a
 straunge realme, with fynall and extreme conquest. I de-
 maund of the myne owne frend Cornelius, What causeth
 p̄incis to lese they; treasure, and require theym of other?
 Whan their owne can not suffysse, then they take fro chur-
 ches, serchedyuers lones, reyse tributes, and inuent newe
 subydies, gyne and spende on straungers, and make him
 selfe hated of his owne, pray euery man, and haue nede of
 euery man: aduenture his persone, and aduenture his re-
 noume? If thou kneweste not this, I wyll tell the, yf thou
 wylt here me. These p̄incis counsell with men, they lyue
 with

with men, and fynally at the last they are men. At one tyme
by pypde, that surmounteth them, an other tyme by coun-
cell, that fayleth them, soone imagininge by theyz fanta-
sies, some sayinge, that yf he haue great goodes, he ought
to increase his fame, and that no memory shuld be of him
if he inuented no warre, & that the emperour of Rome by
right, is lord of al the erth. And in this maner, as his for-
tunes is base, & his thoughtes hygh, the goddis suffre, þ
whā he thinketh iustly to wynne an other mans, than iust-
ly he loseth his owne. O p̄ncis, I can not tell what begy-
leth you, for where as ye maye be ryche with pleasure, ye
wyll be poore with warre: where as ye maye be beloued, ye
wyll be hated: where as ye may play and spoile your selfe,
and teste in a sure lyfe, ye wyll commytte your selfe to the
chaunces of fortune: and where as other haue necessitie of
yon, ye put your selfe to be in the necessitie of other. And
though the p̄ince make no warre, he shuld not suffre his
people to warre: Every manne ought to leaue his warre.
frend Cornelius, I demaund of the, whether is moze tra-
uaylle to his persone, or domage to his realine, a kynge
ennemis, or els his owne armie? His ennemis robbe on
the costes, but our men robbe all the londe. The enmyes
maye be resisted, but we dare not speake to our owne men.
The enemis enuade vs on one day, and reclude backe a-
geyn, but our garisons robbe dayly, and abyde styll. The
straungeres haue some feare, but ours are shameles: and at
the laiste, the farther that our ennemis go, the moze they
ware libertall, and our armies of men, every daye encrease
in crueltie, in suche wyse, that they offend the goddis, and
be impo;tnate to theyz p̄nces, and noyfull to the people
lyuyng to the dounage of euery man, and be vnp̄fytta-
ble to all men. By the god Mars, I swete to the, and as I
maye be holpen in the warres, that I gouerne with my

dd iii hande

hande, I haue no complayntes dayly from the senate on
 the captaynes that ben in Illyrike, than on all the enne-
 mies of the Romayne people: I haue moze feare in main-
 teynynge one standarde of a hundred menne, than to gue
 battayle to .i. M. enemis. For the goddis and fortune
 dispatche a battayle in an houre, be it good or badde: but
 with these other, I can do nothyng in al my lyfe. Thus it
 hath ben my freude Cornelius, and thus it is, and thus it
 shall be. Thus I founde it, thus I holde it, and thus I
 shall leaue it. Our fathers dyd inuente it, and we susteyne
 it, that be they chyldren, and for ylle, it shall abyde to our
 heyres. I say to the one thyng, and I thynke I am not de-
 ceyued therin: To endure so great domage, and to no p^{ro}-
 fytte of the people, I thynke it a great foly in man, or els a
 great punishment of the goddis. Be the goddis soo iuste
 in all iustyce, and so true in all veritie, that they wyll suf-
 fre vs without reason, to do yl in strange landes, to whom
 we dydde never good, and in our owne howses to haue
 shewde tournes of them, to whome we haue alwaye done
 good: These thynges frend Cornelius, I haue wryten to
 the, not bycause I thynke it nedefull, that thou shuldeste
 knowe it: but my spirite resteth in shewyng of it. Panuti-
 us my secretarie went to visite this lande, and on the way
 I gaue hym this letter, and I do sende to the two howses,
 I thynke they be good. The armour and iewels, that I
 won on the Parthes, I haue departed them. How be it, I
 sende the a chariot of them. Wy wyfe faustyne salutethe
 the, and sendeth to thy wyfe a riche glasse, and an ouche of
 p^{rec}ious stones to thy doughter: I beseeche the goddis, to
 gyue the good lyfe and me a good death. Marcus thy lo-
 ue wryteth to the Cornelius his frende.

To

Co Toxates beinge at Gayette, in consola-
tion of his banysshement.

Che. iii. letter.



Atke of mount Celio, companion of the em-
pire, to the Toxate, beinge at Gayette, pa-
tricien Romayn, salute to thy person, and vert-
ue and force agaynst aduers fortune. It is a
thre monthes, sythe I receyued thy letter, the
whiche myn eies myght not make an ende to rede, nor my
handes to answere. I am so heuy for thy heuinesse, so pein-
full for thy peyn, and so hurt with thy wound, that where-
as thou wepest with thyne eies outwardly, I weepe with
my harte inwardly. I wote what difference is betwene the
tree and the cropp, and the dreme fro the trouthe: I here
of thy trauayles by straunge persons, and I felc them in
myn owne person. But where as true frendes be, the peyn-
nes are in comen. The greate infortunes ought to be suf-
fered for one thyng, bycause they declare, who art the true
frendes. I know by thy letter, howe thou arte banyshed
from Rome, and all thy goodes confyscate, and that for
pure heuynes thou arte sycke in thy body. I wolde go se
the, and counsayle thy person, bycause that thou myghtest
see, with what harte and wyll, I doo wepe for thy myslad-
uenture. But yf thou take me for thy trewe frende, beleue
me, as I beleue the, that is, howe moche I feele thy myslad-
uenture. Of trouth, as thou arte banyshed bodyly, so
am I banyshed inwardly in my harte. And yf thy goo-
des or substaunce be taken awaye fro the, I am robbed of
a good frende and companyon. And yf thou lackeste thy
frendes, I am abydynge amonge myn enimies. Though
I myght remedy by workynge of my power, thy banysh-
ment: yet I wyll couisaile thy spirite with certayn wordis

Je

M A R C V S

If I be not forgetfull, I neuer saue the contente in this lyfe: bycause thou were euer besye in thy prosperitie, and wery of any aduersitie. And as now, I se the dyspayre, as though thou were but new come into this woldie. I haue knownen the this. xxxii. yeres in great ioy: and nowe thou complaynest of. vi. monethes, that fortune hath tourned het whele. O Toxate, nowe thou mayst knowe, that vertuous men, feare moxe two dayes of prosperytie than two hundred of aduerse fortune. O howe manye menne, and howe many tyche cyties haue thou and I sene, flyppe fro their prosperities, through theyp vycyous lyuyng and straunge enimies? In suche wyse, that they vayngloyn and flypper prosperitie, endured but two dayes: and the hurtes and losse that they haue hadde, and the cruell and extreme enimies, the whiche also that they haue wonne, lasteth to this daye in their heires. Contrarye wyse, we see some set in the heyght of trybulations, the whiche haue escaped by castynge away vycies, clothynge them with vertues, wery of euyll warkes, folowynge goodnes, beyng frendes to all, and enemis to none. What wylte thou, that I shulde say moxe? They that are happye, are ouercome in peace, and they that are vnhappy, do ouercomme other in warre. Therfore my frende Toxate, it semeth to me, no lesse necessite, to gyue good counsayle, than to prosper with great prosperitie, to remedy them that are in greuynesse. For as wery are they, that go the playn way, as they that costeth the hyghe mountaynes. By thy letter I perceyue, that what tyme thou hopedst to haue ben in most quietnes and rest, this yll fortune and chaunce fell on the. Be not abashed therof. For though that all newe chaunces cause newe thoughtes presently, yet therby cometh moxe cause of stedfastnes in tyme to come. Certaynly the tree beareth not so moche fruite, there as it spryngeth first

is as it dothe when it is newe set in an other place. And all
good smelles are moze odiferous, if they be wel medled
and chaufed togyther. I pray the tell me, abydynge in the
woerde, beinge a chylde of the same, and louing the wold,
what hopeſt thou to haue of the woerde, but woſdly thin-
ges? the woerde ſhall alwayſ be the woerde. At this houre
thou art woſdly, and ſhalt be woſdly, and ſhalt be entrea-
nd as the woerde is accuſtomed to entreate theym that be
woſdly. If thou kneweſt thy ſelſe and thy weakeſſe, yf
thou kneweſt fortune and her mutation, if thou kneweſte
the men and their malices, if thou kneweſt the woerde, and
the flatteryng therof, chou woldeſt reyſe the fro the hande
therof with honour, and not be chalſyſed with infamye.
O howe we hope to ſpede by fortune? O how often with-
oute reſpecte vntwares we paſſe this lyfe? O howe often
we truſte the bobaunce of this woerde? and we truſt therin
as moche as though it neuer begyled man. I ſay it not be-
cause I haue harde it ſayde, no; because I haue redde it in
bokes: but fo; we ſe it dayly with our eies, ſomme decays
and leſe their goodes, other fall and loſe their credence,
ſome falle in ſyght, and leſe their honour, and other arife
and loſe they; lyues, and ſome thynke, that all are free by
privilege, where as neuer none were prouyleged. O my
frende Toxate, of one thynge I am certayne, and let eue-
ry man take it fo; a warnyng: Men, by whom we be borne,
be of ſo yll diſpoſition, and the woerde ſo fierſe and cruel,
with whom we lyue, and the glydynge ſerpente fortune ſo
full of poſon, that they hurtte vs with their fete, & byte vs
with their teethe, and ſcratche vs with they; nayles, and
ſwelle vs with their poſon, ſoo that the paſſynge of the
lyfe is no leſſe than takynge of deathe. And in caſe thou
haſte ſene ſomme lyue longe without any falle of fortune,
thynke not it is well, fo; it is not by good aduenture, but

Ca the

the more his yll fortune. The woldē is so malitious, that if we take not hede to p̄epare against his w̄inches, it wyl ouerthowē vs to our greater losse and hurt. Noche sooner dyc they that ben helthful with the infirmities & spckenes of few days, than they that be weke with their lāgour of many yeres. I say this bycause I hold it so; most suretie, that the mysterable manne, that maye not lyue without myseries, shulde fele the peynes by lytell and lytell, and not all at ones. We eate diuers thinges by mo;scis, which if we shulde eate hole, wold choke vs. In lykewyse by dyuers dayes we suffre dyuers trauayles, whiche al togyder wolde make an ende of vs in one day. And than sythe the goddis wyl permytte, that thy mysfotune shall fall, and that the ryuet of thy decay ouerflowe her chancell, & where thou wenest to be most sure, thou shalt be in greatest peryl, we shall minister to the a syope, to thentent that thou lose not thy good renoume, though thou haue loste thy goodis that be nought. Telle me I praye the Toxate, why complaynest thou, as he that is spcke? why criest thou lyke a foole? why syghest thou as a desperate man? why wepest thou as a chylde? Thou haste gone an yll way, and complaynest of thy reste. Thou arte clothed to goo throughe bushes, and thou sayest that thy gownes do teare. Thou walkest amonge the stoones, and arte sorē bycause thou fallest. Thou hast leaned, and thoughtest not to fal, and syually thou arte sette with the woldē, and thynkest to be free with heuen. Wyte thou haue saufconduite of so;ture, that is enemys to many? She can not giue the naturaltie, whiche is mother to all thynges. I wyll axe the one thyng: I put case the see hadde p̄omysed the, to be alway in suretie of her, and the skye clere wether, the sommer snowes, and the wynter flowres. It wyll not be of a suretie Toxate. If nature canne not fulfylle this, beinge

thy

thyne owne mother, thinkest thou than, that fortune wylle
 gyue it the, whiche is thy vnuste stepmother? Kepe this
 rule for certayne, and never forget it, that al natural cour-
 ses are subiectes to mutation euery yere. And all woldely
 folke that truste on fortune, shall suffre eclyps euery mo-
 ment. And than sith naturall thynges can not be alwayes
 in one case, of necessarie the goodis of fortune muste pe-
 cyshe, sythe they be superfluite. Ryght vnuste shulde the
 ryghtwyse goddis be, yf they had made perpetuall that,
 whiche is damageable to so many: O that whiche is p^{ro}-
 fitable, to haue created it fallyble. I wylle speake no mo^re
 of thy p^{ro}speritie in tymes past, but nowe I wyl come
 to the banyshement that thou suffrest presentely. Suspe-
 cious fortune made a fayre at thy gate, knowynge what
 she solde: and thou wylste not what thou boughtest: She
 made a dere bargayne, and solde it dere to the: She hathe
 gyuen the swete for swete, and the swete is tourned into
 sowzenesse for the: She hath gyuen the yuell for good, and
 hath tourned thy good to yl. And finaly she hath begyled
 the at a iuste p^{ri}ce, not wenynge to the that she wold haue
 done the damage: and though that she was malycious in
 sellynge to the, thou were a^{re} lesse foolyshe in the byenge
 therof: for the mo^re there is in fortunes shoppe, the mo^re
 suspecte is the marchandyse. O howe vnbappy be we, for
 in that market is nothyng sold but lyes. And she trusteth
 nothyng but vpon the pledges of our renoume: and at
 laste wyl not be payde but with the shotte of our lyfe, and
 that is the mooste greateste and myschewous wounde.
 It is as openly knowe to euery man as to the, that where
 as they thynke not to lese they^z wares, false fortune in
 that they purpose, to they^z myshappe lyeth in awayte, and
 is redy to bye theym. Thou makest me very so^re abasshed
 Toxate. I haue reputed the ryghte wyse and vertuous,

and nowe I take the so; a losse foole. In good sothe whan
 I sawe the yonge in Gayette, I iudged the woxthp to go-
 uerne Rome: and nowe that thou art olde, thou deseruest
 nothyng but to be cast in a galep as a sclaue. O howe ma-
 ny thynges are there to knowe a man by: There is not so
 hyghe a toppe of a hylle, but it is troden with feete: no;
 soo depe a see, but it is sounded with leade. And in a hun-
 dred yeres one manne can not attrayne to knowe an other
 mannes harte. Telle me I praye the, what lokedste thou
 fo; of fortune, after soo greate welthe? Lyuyng to the
 wold, thynke to be in the wold. The chyldren of vaniti
 goo and walke soo longe, that at laste they; disordynate
 desyre canne not take fro the wold their antike vilanyes
 and shamfulnes, the whiche fortune dothe not with them
 that she hathe reysed vnto the skypes, thynkest than, that
 she shal bowe with the to the lowestie parties? O sole Top-
 cate, thoughtest thou to passe the see without peryll, to
 eate fleshe withoute bones, To dynke wyne withoute
 lyves, to walke in the wayes without syndynge stones, To
 bye wheate without chaffe? In good soth, if thou though-
 test to bye yl goodes without hindrance of thy good fame,
 and to maynteyn thy good renome without losse of yl got-
 ten goodes, I wolde wytte of the, what thou dydest hope
 to do, lithe soo longe season thou hast made a face in the
 wold. xxxiiii. yere thou hast ben in the grace of the wold,
 nowe it is tyme fro hensforth to fall at some discorde ther-
 with, Abell, kynge of the Assiriens, hoped to haue but sev-
 yeres of good prosperitie. Queene Himitamis but one-
 ly syre. Abell kynge of the Lacedemoniens fyue, Cutte
 kynge of the Caldeens. iii. Alexander kynge of the gre-
 kes. iii. Amylcarr the great of Cartilage but two, and our
 Gapus Cesar Romayne but one onely, and many before
 and sythe not one yere: And sith thou were the mooste un-
 knownen

knowen of lynage, the grosseste of vnderstandynge, and the leaste of power, the darkeste of fame, and the most wike in merites: wherfore than complaynest thou on fortune? If thou haddeſt ben vertuous in all these. xxx. yeres, thou haddeſt neuer eaten without thoughte, no; neuer spoken without ſuſpicion, no; ſlepte without ſtertyng, thinking what thou haddeſt to do, and wherin fortune myghte begyle the. He that is ſo longe beſette aboue with ſoo many enemites, I can not tell howe he ſhuld take any ſure ſlepe. Ih Toxate Toxate, the wylde hath ſo many falles, and we knowe ſo yll howe to continue amouge theym, that be woldly, that scantly we are fallen whan our handes and ſete lyke ſclaues be ſo faste tyed, that we can not loſe them. It ſygleth our persons full of vices, strengtheth our ſine-nes to wickednes, weaketh our hartes in vertues, and fy- nally rendeth our ſpirites in a traunce, and mafeteth our vnderſtandynge, and chaungeth our taste, and ſuffereth us as beaſtes to ſhewe our euylls that we fele with way- lynges, all though as men we durſt not ſhew it. And that this is true, it appereth, that whanne we ſee, that we loſe, we lament and complayne, and none can helpe hym ſelfe. This ſmal lesson I writte to the, to the ende thou ſhuldest lyue in leſſe thoughte. The horſe colte that thou dyddedeſt ſende me, leapeſt verye well: The ſpanuell that thou ſente to me, is well, but he is wylde: the calfe was verye fatte, and I wolde haue eaten it forthwith, but my wyfe fau- ſyn beſily prayed me to kepe it, and thynketh that it was ſtoleſ in a gardeyne. I ſende to the. ii. M. ſetters for to ſuccour the in thy trauayles. And as touchinge thy ban- ſhement, at tyme conuenient I ſhal diſpatch thy matters with the ſenate. The conſolation of the goddis, and the loue of man be with the Toxate. The ſodeynnes of euils, and the yre of the furies be ſepetate froo me Marcus Au-

Ce.iii. relius

relius. Faustyn my wyfe greteth the, and in lyke wise fro
her patte and ours, to thy mother in lawe, and thy wyfe
haue vs recommended. Marc of Rome sendeth this wri-
tyng to Toxate of Gayette.

Letter sent to Domitius of Capue to com-
foxe hym in his banisshemente.

The fourth letter.



Item oratour Romayn, borne on mount
Celio, to the Domitian of Capue salute
and consolation of the goddis consola-
tors. In this right colde wynter there
arose in this lande a myghty greet wynd,
and by reason of the great wynde arose
great quantite of waters, and the wa-
ters haue caused great humidites, and great humidities
bode dyuers maladies and diseases: and amonge all the
infirmitiis of this lande I haue the goute in my hande,
and the ciatica in my legge. For the helth of my wyfe fau-
sine I can neyther go nor write. I saye it bycause I can
not write to the so longe as the case wolde require, and as
thy thankes metyeth, and my desyre coueteth. It is shew-
ed me, that by occasion of a hoys thou hast had strif with
Patticio thy neyghbour, & that thou art banished fro Ca-
pue, and set in the prison Mamattyn. Thy goodis are co-
fisked, and thy chyldren banished, thy house caste downe,
and thy neuewe is putte out of the senate, and banysched
the senate for .r. peres. It is tolde me, that all the daye
thou wepest, and wakest by nyght: in company thou diest,
and doest loue to teste solytatilye: Thou hatest pleasure,
and louest pensyuenes. And I haue no metuaple: for the
sorowfull hartes lyue with teates and weppynge, and be
met

mercy & laugh in dienge. I am ryght sorry to se the lost: but
 moche more, that so; so smalle a thyng thou shuld be cast
 away, as so; a hōs to lese al thyng estate. O howe variable
 is fortune, and howe soone a myladuenture fallēth before
 our eies: fortune gryeth these cuyls, & we see it not: with
 her handes she toucheth vs, and we fele it not: she tredeth
 vs vndret fete, and we knowe hit not: she speakeþ in our
 eares, and we here her not: she crieth alowde vnto vs, and
 we vnderstande her not: and this is bycause we wyll not
 knowe her: and finally, whan we thynke we are moste su-
 test, than are we in moste peryll. Trouth it is, that with a
 lyttell wynde, the frupte falleth fro the tree: and with a
 lyttell sparcle the house is sette a fyre: a small rocke brea-
 keth a greate shyppe: and with a lyttell stone the legge is
 hurte. I saye, that oftentyme of that we feare not, cometh
 greate peryll. In a close fistula, rather than in an open,
 the surgiens doubte the peryll: In depe styll waters the
 pilote feareth moze than in the great hye wavys: Of se-
 cret enbuschement, rather than of open arintes, the warri-
 our doubteth. I wyll not onely say of straungers, but of
 hys owne propre, not of ennemys, but of frendes, not
 of crewelle warre, but of peace, not of open domage or
 sclaundre, but of secrete peryll and myschiefe, a wylc man
 ought to beware. Howe many haue we sene, that the chan-
 ces of fortune coulde not abate, and yet within a shorte
 whyle after, unwarenes with great ignomynious shame
 hath ouerthowen them? I wolde wittie of the, what teste
 can a persone haue, that trusteth euer vpon the p̄speritie
 of fortune, syth so; so lyght a cause we haue sene so great
 a streke in ROME, and such a losse to thy howse? Seynge
 that I see, I wyll not feare the wyndes of her trauayles,
 nor; beleue in the elertenesse of her pleasures, nor; her thun-
 ders shal not feare me, nor; wil trust vpon her flatteringes,

no; thanke her for; that she leueth with me, no; be sorwe for;
 that she taketh froo me, no; wake for; any trouthe that she
 sayth to me, no; ryse for; any of her leasynge, no; lawghe
 for; any thyng that she desy;reth of me, no; wepe for; gryning
 me leaue. If thou knowest not the cause of this, I shal tel
 the. Our lyfe is so doubtfull, and fortune so wayward,
 that she dothe not alway threate in strykynge, no; striketh
 in thretynge. The wylle man gothe not soo temperately,
 that he thynketh at every steppe to falle, no; lyue with so
 smalle a thought, to thynke to ouerthow in euery playn
 pathe. For oftentymes false fortune shaketh her weapon,
 and striketh not, and an other tyme stryketh without shakynge.
 Beleue me of one thynge Domitius, That parte
 of the lyfe is in mosle perylle, whan with lyttell thoughte
 o; care men thynke them selfe moost sure. Wylt thou se the
 trouthe therof. Cal to thy mende Hercules, that scaped fro
 many perylles by see and by lande, and yet dyed betwene
 his lemans armes. Laomedon perished not vnder Troy,
 but was slayne in his howse. Greate Alexander dyed not
 in makynge warre ouer all the erthe, but he ended with a
 lyttell povson. The couragious Catus Cesat sauued hym
 selfe in. iii. battayles, and after in the senate was slayne
 with. xxxii. strokes of penknives. Scipio brother of Dom
 peie, perished not flotynge. xii. yere vpon the see, but he
 was drowned after in drawynge water at a welle. Tenne
 capitains that Scipio had with him in Africke, that han-
 quished many harde batayles, as they were mockyng on
 a brydge, they fel fro the brydge, and were drowned. Good
 Drusio that had overcome the Parthes, the day of his tri-
 umph, goyng to his chariot, there felle a tyle that claue a-
 sonder his heed, so that bayneglorie was the ende of his
 good lyfe. What shuld I tel the moxe? Thou knowest well
 that Lucye my syster, hauyng a nedel on her bosom, play-
 enge

enge with her chylde betwene her armes, the chylde with his hande hytte the nedell suche a stroke into her bodye, that he slewe his mother. Gneo Ruffyn the consulle, sente agenste the Germanus, of our tyme was so valyaunte in armes, that none of our predecessours surmounted hym: yet he hembyng his olde whytte heares, one of the teethe of the combe entred into his heed, wherby grewe an impostume, by occasyon wherof he ended his honorabile lyfe for so small a case. Howe semethe the Domitius? As I do tell the of so small a nombre, I coude recypte infynite examples, what myssortunes fell after good fortuncs, what mischawnce after great glorie, what myladuenture after great happe, what greatte eyill they take of they; deathe, after the begynnyng of greatte welthe in the lyfe. I beinge as they, knowe not what to desyre, but they beinge as I am, wyl rather chuse the labourous and honourable deathe, than an yll death and an honourable lyfe. To my semynge he, that wyll be a man amonge men, and not a beaste amonge bestes, ought to trauayle soze to lyue well, and moche moze to dye better. For at the fynall ende an yll deethe putteth great doubt of the good lyfe: and the good deethe excuseth the yll lyfe, I haue written to the at the begynnyng of my letter, that by reason of the humyditie, the gowre greueth me ylle. But to satisfye thy deſyre, I wolde fayne write with my hande moze at lengthe. Two dayes the loue that I bare to the, hath faught with the peyne that I endure. My wylle wolde write, but my fyggers can not holde my penne. The remedie is, sithe I may not as I wolde, that thou wyl take as thyne owne, that I may do, as myne owne dede. Faustine my wyf saluteth the, who by reason of my dyseases, is halfe ylle at ease. It is shewed her, that thou haste greatte peyne of a hurte of thy face, she hathe sente the a boxe with baume.

ff

that

M A R C U S

that thy hurt shal not appere in thy visage. If thou canst
fynde any grene almondes or new nuttis, faulxne pray-
eth the, to sende her some by this beater. I haue but lyttell
store of money, therfore I sende the a gowne, and thy wif
a kyttell. No more, but I pray the goddis to glie the that
I desire for the: and to glie me, that thou desirdest for me.
And beside, that I do write to the with my hande, I gyue
to the myne owne propre harte.

A letter sente fro the emperour to Cladius and
Claudyne his wyfe, bycause they being
olde, lyued as yonge persons

¶ The v. letter.



Atteke of inost Celio to the Cladius and
Cladine husbande and wyfe, dwellynge in
my warden, I desyre helthe, sendyng you
this letter. The trouthe is, bycause ye are
my frendes, & vnder my charge, I enquire
of them that coine fro you, of your estates:
and by theyn that goo to you, I sende rerominendations
to you bothe: yf ye haue my good wyll, demaunde hit of
your hartes. And yf in your stomacke ye repute and take
me but as a suspicioous frende, thanne I thynke my selfe
euen cleane condemned. The cruelle forgetfulnesse, the
whiche may be causer of myne absence, peraduentre ba-
nysheth the good dedes, that ye haue receyued of my per-
sonne. If in any thyng I haue entreated you with lyes,
than I require, that ye entreate me nothyng with trouth.
But yf I haue bene alwayes your good neyghbour and
frende, yf ye haue any nede of myne honour, thanne be to
me as good. Gayo fution my frende, as well as your pa-
rent, passyng this wape to Alexand; ye, hathe shewed me
many

many thynges, the whiche were done in Rome: & amonge other, he shewed me one thyng, that caused me to laugh, whan I hard it: and yet it was ryght greuous to me, whā I thought theron. **S**omme thynges we take sodenly in spoile and mockerie, the whiche afterwarde, well considered, maketh vs verye sorwe. He shewed me, howe that ye seme to every man ryght auncient, and verye yong in your dounge: for you aray your selfe dayly with newe apparell, as ye shulde go to weddynges: and where as men do honour you as ancient persons, ye shewe your selfe wanton: and whan folke renne to se gewgawes, ye ar not the laste. There is no lyghtnes in Rome, but it is regestred in your house. Thus ye gyue your selfe to pleasures, as they that thynke never to haue displeasure. And fynally, whanne ye shulde lyfte vp your handes, ye entre newely into the wa- ges of the worlde. Truely my neyghbours and frendes, to speake with dewe reuerence, I am ashamed of your vn- shamefastnes, and am no lesse sorw for your fautes. There be dyuers greuous faultes, that are made lyghte by the honeste withdrawyng of them. And some other that are but smal fautes, and fyndyng no waye to leaue them, are esteemed very great. By all the goddis, I can fynde none occasion, how for to excuse your evilles: but I see nowe, wherwith to condempne them. Wherfore pardon me, yt that I seeme vnhoneste to speake so moch, whan ye be not honeste in your lyuyng. In good sothe I denaye not, but that thou Cladius haste bene ryght free and lybeteal of thy person, and thou Claudine ryght fayre of vysage, and many persons for the beautie of thy so; hed haue ben curi- ous to haue had the to wife, but I wold wit of þ youth of the one, & beautie of the other, in usyng al your liues in va- nutie, what goodly trunkettes ye hope to wre in the strait- nes of the **S**epulchre. **O** great foles, ye and folcs agayne,

Do you not knowe yet, that the tynie teeth with mouyng
 of wynges: The lyfe trauayleth on her way without lye-
 tyng of her fete: fortune sterceth her without styringe
 her armes, & the wrold boydeth it selfe layenge nothyng,
 the fleshe consumeth without felyng, and our gloze pas-
 seth as it never had ben: and fynally dethe assayleth vs et-
 erne he knocke at the gate. Certaynly it is impossyble for
 to make synewes of blode, of bernes to make bones, of a
 craggy rocke a playne way, and of possyble to make impos-
 syble. I meane that none shall thynke but that the gre-
 uies of youthe shall waste and wydder in age. O wrold,
 what a wrold art thou: so lyttell is our force, and our weke-
 nes so great, that without resylynge downest vs wyl-
 lyngly in the depenes of thy perillous whylepoole: and
 hydest vs in the threkest of thy mountaynes, and leadest
 vs out of the brode way, wandeypnge by thy narow pathes
 and bryngest vs into the rugged waye. I doo meane, that
 they that be greatest in fauour, thou bryngest into daun-
 ger, to the entente that with one stroke of thy foote, thou
 mayst ouerthowe them. O wrold. iii. pere I haue benne
 in the, and yet thou never saydest one trouthe to me, and
 I haue taken the with. x. M. lies. I never desyred any
 thynge of the, but thou dyddest promyse hit me, but thou
 never gauest me any thynge promyised me: I never crede
 with the, but thou begyledste me: I never attyued at the,
 but thou loste me: I never saue thynge in the, wherby I
 shulde loue the. For all that we see in the, is worthp to be
 abhorred. And besyde this, I wote not what is the wrold.
 O what faute is in vs thy wroldly wretches: For yf thou
 hate vs, we dare not hate the: yf thou haule with vs, we
 muste be stille: yf thou syurne at vs, we muste suffre the:
 if thou beate vs with a stasse, we saye nothyng: And yet
 yf thou woldest haue vs gone, we wyll not go. And wrold
 of

All is, that we hadde rather serue the for no thyng with
 traunple, thanne the goddis with prayere and rest. I dwere
 to the by the immortall goddis, that oftentymes I make
 account of my yeres passed: and an other tyme I reuelue
 my bookes, to see what I haue redde. And bykewysse I de-
 maund of my frendes, to gyue me councel to know, wher-
 mit is that I wolde speake. I beynge at Rhodes, redyng
 Shetorique, My lorde Adriaen kepyng me there, at the
 age of xxxi. pere, my yonge fleshe, and no lesse weake than
 tender, at the syste wroke I found solytarynesse, and the
 solytarynesse with lyberty adored the wold: In adorynge
 I felte it, in felyng I folowed it, in folowyng I ouertoke
 it, in ouertakyng I toke it, in takyng I proued it, in pro-
 uyng I tasted it, in tastynge I found it bytter, in syndyng
 it bytter, I hated it, in hatynge it, I felte it, in leauynge
 it, it retourned, and retoutryng I receyued it. And in
 this maner in. yeres, we haue eaten of one breadde, and
 dwelled in one house, wha I sawe it displeased, I serued it,
 whan it sawe me thoughtfull it chred me, whan I sawe
 it in prosperitie, I demaunded it, whan it sawe me mery,
 it begyled me. And thus we be togyther vnto this day, not
 gyuyng me leau to god, nor I wyllyng to departe fro
 it. O wold, thou hast so many countenaunces in thy va-
 nite, that thou leadest all wandryng in unstablynes.
 Wyth we suffre the to take vs, thou wylt never deliuer vs
 if we withdraw our selfe fro the shafe of fortune, sothwith
 thou festerest our legges fast with pronges and if by chance
 we fyle the prongs, anone thou manakest our handes: and
 though the way be straite, the pathe sharpe, the tourneys
 longe, and our fleshe weake, yet our bodies are euer laden
 with vices, and our hertes fulfilled with thoughtes and
 pensyuenes. Of our synges I haue great meruayle, and
 I can not deuyse what it is: without any constaaynt to the

M A R C V S

contrary, we go surely ouer the brydge, and yet we wyl go by
an other waye: and though the same waye be sure, yet we
wyl aduenture into the gulfe: if the wapes be dyng, yet
wyl we go throughte the dyng and myre and plasse: ha-
uyng meate for our lyuyng we serche for poyson to kyll
vs: we serche to be lost, and may be assuted: withoute in-
terest we commyntte synne, seinge peyne commynge with-
all: and fynally, to the entente that we shoulde be taken
for good, we shote at the whyte of vertues, and hyt the
butte of vices. One thyng I confesse, though it be myne
owne shaine, Peraduenture in tyme to come it shal be pro-
fyttable to somme other. In my lyses of my lyfe, I wolde
proue all the vices of this lyfe, to see if any thyng might
haue satisfied the humayn malyce: And after I had sene
all thyng, I founde, that the more I dydde eate, the more
I dyed for hungry: The more I slepte, the more sluggye
I was: the more I dranke, the more thyng I hadde, the
more I rested, the more werye I was: the more good I
hadde, the more couetous I was: the more I soughte, the
lesse I founde: And fynally I never toke peyne for any
thyng, but I was euer lette: and thanne anone I hadde
appetite to an other. Lette no manne thyng to lyue in the
fleshe, and satisfie the fleshe. It hath power to take fro vs
our lyfe: and we haue no power to take frome it the disor-
dinate couetyse. I wolde fayne knowe of the goddis, why
our dayes shulde haue an ende. O cruelle goddis, what
is this? We can never passe one good lyses day, we do but
taste it, and so passeth our lyfe, and lyfe is but a dreame,
and vethe waketh it. Lette euery manne knowe, that the
wolde taketh our wyl, and we with our good wyl gyue
it thereto: and it taketh our wylle to the ende to contente
vs, and prayse that we prayse, and the tyme passeth so,
that we lyue after the cursed tyme. To attayne vertues,

we

hane good desire: but to attayne to bices we putte to
 our warkes. This haue I sayde soz you Cladius
 and Claudine, that in thre score yeres, ye wylle not yslue
 goo oute of the pypsonne of the wold: hauyng your
 herte putrifyped with psons and chaynes. What is thanne
 to be hoped of yonge personnes, whiche be of fyue and
 twenty yeres olde. Excepte my memorpe sayle me, whan
 I was wþth you, ye hadde your newewes, sonnes of your
 chylðren maryed, and nyceces, doughters of your dough-
 ters maryed: and me thynketh, whan the guynes comme,
 the season of cheryes is not comme: and whanne the newe
 synne is tounned, the dyppe huskes are caste out. Canne ye
 suffre dypuers newewes, sonnes to your chylðren, in your
 howse, and fewe yeres in your persones? Very selidome
 we see swite and the floweres togyþer: for whanne the
 one is typp, and in season, than the other is cleane goone
 and auoyded.

In this case I thynke greate maruayle, howe ye can
 be of manye yeres, and seeme to be yonge. I knowe none
 other thynge, but whanne ye maryed Lambert, your own
 doughter to Dusio, and Matryne your nyce, dough-
 ter of your doughter, with Lambertte that were all lyttell
 and yonge chylðren: and sythe that ye be of a good aye,
 and lacke good, ye maye gyue vnto eche of them twenty
 yeres of your aye, in stede of theyr dowrie. And soo ye
 shal vnlade you of your yeres, and charge you with other
 mennes goodes and substauençe. Noo lesse this mattier
 passeth in my thoughte, than the shorte clothe dooþe in a
 false weuers handes. ye haue strayed it on the tentours,
 and drauen it on the perte, for to to lengthen the lyfe. If
 ye were made faire and clere cordwainers ware, and swete
 of sauour, that ye myghte be drauen out at lengthe, hit
 were welle doone, but ye ate but as fruyte of almondes,
 lemynge

semynge dyng without, and worme eaten within. For the
 loue that I haue to you, and for neyghbourheed that ye
 haue had with me, I desyre byl stend shyppe of you, that
 lyke as I knyne you yonge and very yonge, so to knowe
 you oldc and very olde. I say not that ye summost in age,
 but your wytte fayleth you. O Claudiuſ and Claudiuſ,
 I wylle ye knowe, that to susteyne youthe, and to deface
 age, to length the lyfe, and drue awaye deth: it is not in
 inenes handes that desyre hit: it is the goddis that doo
 gyue it, whiche accordyng to iustyce and our courtyſe gy
 ueth vs lyfe by weyghte, and deathe without measure. ye
 may know, that our nature is corruption of our body, and
 our bodyc is puttification of our wytte, and our wytte is
 guyde to our soule, and our soule is mother of our desy
 res, and our desyres are leers of our youthe, & out youth
 token of our age, and our age spye of our deth: and deth
 the house of our lyfe, wherinto youthe goethe on fore, and
 from age we can not flee on hors backe. I wolde wytte a
 thinge of you: what fynde ye in this lyfe: wherfore dothe
 lyfe content you after. lxxx. yeres of age: & eþer ye haue
 ben good or yll: yf ye haue ben good and vertuous, ye shal
 not reioyce you with yll goddys: yf ye haue ben yll, than
 as well desyre death, to thentente ye sholde be no more yll:
 oþers iustly ye myght be slayn by iustyce. For he that hath
 ben yll till. ix. yeres of age, in hym there is no hope of a
 inendmet. Whan the couragious gret Pompeie, & Caius
 Cesar were ennemis, and beynge in cruell ciuil battayns
 Rome was infamed, & them self loste. The annales shew,
 that such as came in fauour of Julius Cesar, cam out of
 the west, and the succours of Pompeie out of the easte, a
 monge other there came certayne people out of Barbarie,
 dwellyng amonge the mountayns Riffes toward Inde:
 Their custome was, whan they cam to thage of y. yeres,

make great syres, and brenne them selfe outche in sacri-
fice to thep; goddis, and the same daye the parentes and
chylde ren wolde make great feastes, and eate of the fleshe
halfe bren, and drynke wyne with the ashes of the bones.
This was sene with the eies of Pompei, because that som
accomplyshed the yeres of fyfthe in the campe. O golden
wolde, wherin were suche men. O happy people, that in
all the woldes to come, hath left such a memorye of them.
They dispised the wolde, and forgattem them selfe. What
strokes gaue they to fortunur. What delytes for the fleshe?
and how lyttell sette they by thep; lyues, and yet moare, to
set so small store by deach? O what bidel was this for the
vicious, and what hope for the vertuous, what confusion
for them that loued this lyfe, and what ensaumple, not to
feare dethe, haue they left vs. And siche they dispised their
owne propre lyfe: it is then to be thoughte, that they dyed,
not to thentent to take other mens goodes, to thynke that
out lyfe never shall haue ende, therfore our couetyse never
hath ende. O gloriouſ people, and. x. M. tymes blessed,
that leſſe thep; sensualitie, and vanquyſhed thep; natural
wyll, beleue not that ye ſe, but gyue faythe to that ye ne-
uer ſawe, as they that ſe noþyng go agaynſt the fatal de-
ſtrenes: who goeth agaynſt the wape of fortune, gyue a
wynche to the lyfe, robbe the body at the dethe, wyne ho-
nour of the goddis, not that they ſhulde length your lyfe,
but to take the reſte of the lyfe. Arthagatus ſurgien, and
Anthoniſ the phisitien, and Esculapius the fathur of me-
dicines, I thynke wanne but lyttell in that lande.
Who commaunded theſe Barbatiens to take ſtroke in the
mormyng, and to take ppyles at nyght, and to refreſh them
with mylike, to take clere batly to annoynt thep; lyuers, to
daye to be lette blode, and to morrowe to take a purgation,
to eate one chyng, & to abſteyn fro many thyngeſ? Than

Gg

me

M A R C V S

me thinke, that they beynge of l. pere of aegte, and you of
 lxx. at the leaste, shulde be egall with them in wysedome.
 And yf we wyl not take deth in good wroth, yet at the leest
 amende the yll lyfe. I remembre well of a longe tyme, that
 Fabrius, our neybhour wylled vs, to beware of a mocke-
 rie, the whiche yf it be not broken, there shall folowe great
 dysshonour. And syth he shewed me soo good a lesson, I
 wyll paye you with the same money. I wyll shewe it you,
 if ye poore aged folkes doo not knowe it: ye be suche, that
 your eyes are bleared, your noses droppynge, your hea-
 tes whyte, your herynge dulle, your tongue faulterynge,
 your tethe waggyng, your face wryncled, your fete swol-
 len, your shulders crooked, and your stomake distempered,
 finally if the graues coulde speake, they myght ryghtfully
 calle for you to come, and inhabyte in them. Of trouthe it
 is great compassyon to beholde yonge ignorance, that o-
 pen they eyes, to knowe the infortunes of this lyfe, whan
 it is tyme to close them and to entre into the graue. And
 therof cometh, that it is inbayne to gyue couisayle to bayn
 yonge people. for youth is wout experiece of that it doth,
 & is suspect of that it hereth, & wyll not byleue that is sayd
 and dispayseth other mens couisel, & is ryght poore of their
 owne. And therfore I saye **Claudius** and **Claudyne**, my
 frendes, I fynde without comparyson, none so ylle an ig-
 no;ance of goodnes, that holdeth these yonge personnes,
 as is the obstinacy of these aged personnes in yll. The dis-
 finition of yll, is a manne not to knowe that he ought to
 knowe, yet it is wors to haue the knowledge of wysedome,
 and to lyue lyke a brute beaste. O ye olde goutye people,
 ye forgette your selfe, and renne in poste after the lyfe, and
 ye never regarde whatte shall falle, tyll ye be suche as ye
 wolde not, and without power to retourne backe: & therof
 cometh that ye lacke of lyfe, ye wyll supplye it with folys.

Than

Than awake ye that be slombryng, haue no force to slepe,
open your slepp eies, and accustome you to do well: Take
that is needful for you: and fynally appoynt you betimes
with dethe, or he make execusion of your lyfe. Lii. yeres I
haue knowen them of the world, yet I could never know
none so olde, nor so putrifyed in their membris, but that
their hertes were hole to thynke vnhappyngesse, and their
tongues hole to make lyes. Take hede, ye poore olde per-
sons, me thynke syth somer is past, ye haste forward with
the tyme: and if ye tary a small season, yet ye make haaste
to take lodgyng. I meane, that thongh ye haue paste the
day in the see with peryl, the nyght of dethe wyll take you
at the porche of helthe. Mockes do passe with mockynges,
and trouthe with trouthe: though I haue sene you ryghte
onge and hardy, nowe I se you very olde: Though the
knyght passe his course, yet it is not his faute, yf the hors
be not well reyned: but at the ende of his course, he wylle
tumme his hors. Let not that begyle you, that of custom
hath begyled men: That is, ye shalbe as wel esteemed ther-
by, as though ye had moche money. I beleue ye folow dic-
ters, and yet they all haue euuy at you. But trust me, that
at the ende, honour is gyuen to a yong persone poore and
vertuous, rather than to an olde person ryche & vycious.
The ryche may haue power to be more esteemed with poore
people, and accompanied with ryche and couetous: but
the vertuous poore person, shall be better esteemed & lesse
hated. What can be greater confusyon to a persone, or
more shame to our mother Rome, than to se in dyuers pla-
ces, the old people behaue and appoynte them, as yonge
folke, as though they lyke the vynē leagues dyd newly but
gaine. What thinge is it to see the olde persones, nowe in
oute dapes, brayde and make fayre their whyte heares,
crysing and lembre they; beardes, weare strayne shawes,

Gg.ii. their

M A R C V S

their hosen garded, their shurtes scounced, their clokes of
scarlette, their bagges embroded, their chaynes of golde
about their neckes, fringes of golde & syluer about their
apparell, estrige fetheres vpon their hattes lyke grekes,
peries and rynges on their fyngers lyke Indiens, they
gownes long lyke flamine pustes, and finally worst of al,
whan dethe hath gyuen them day, than they answeire that
newly they wyll serue a lady. O how many haue I kno-
wen in Rome, that were highly renouned in theyr youth,
and after throught wanton lyghtnes they were but lost in
their age: and worse of all, they loste theyr renowme in
their age, and the fauour of their parentes, and the pro-
fytte of their chyldren. Certaynly Guagyn Caton of the
ancient lynage of the Catōs, was in Rome, a prieſt of the
laue. v. yeres, & prouost. iii. yeres, and Censure. ii. yeres, a
dictatour one yere, and Consule. v. tymes, & whan he was
paste the age of. lxv. yeres, than he began to serue Rosane
doughter of Gneus Curcius, a lady ryght fayre & yonge:
and he doted so farre in her loue, that he spente all that he
had to serue her, and wold wepe lyke a chyld whan he saw
her. It fortuned this lady fell sycke of a feuer, and she ly-
sted to eate newe grapes, and it was in sp̄yng tyme, whā
there was none tyke as than in Rome. He sent for some to
the felde of Danubius, that was a. M. and. v. C. myle
thense, and this was shewed to the senate, and they ordyn-
ned, that Rosana was closed in with the virgins vestales
and the old man was banished perpetually out of Rome,
and his chyldren syued in greate pouertie, and the father
dyed infamed. I beleue that ye haue harde of this. There
were dyuers that reputed for a greate bylanye the dede of
the olde louer, and prayed the sentence of the senate. But
I thyngke if Guagin had had as many yonge persones in
his banyſhment, as there were old amorous persons that
toke

like by hym example, I thinke there shuld not be so many men loste, nor soo many women so yll marayed. And therfore the best is, that such people, whan they be warned by their seruautes, and reprooued by their parentes, and desyred by their frendes, that they make not excuse a say, how they be not amorous, but in mockerye. Wha I was very yng both of age & wyt, on a night I met with a neyghbor of myn nigh to the capitol, I was his neuewe & son to his sonne, & sayd to hym, My lord Fabrictus ye are amorous thus and thus. He answered me, I do it but for pastyme. Certaynly I had maruayle to mete hym at that houre, & I was abashed of that answere that he gaue me. In them that be soore aged and of sadnes and grauise, such reueles ought not to be called amours, but rather dolours, not a pastyme, but a loste tyme, no mockerye, but a foolishnes. For in loue with mockery, foloweth þ trouth of infamie. To the Claudius and Claudine, I demaunde of you olde louers, what is it to be polshed and arrayed as ye be so gayly, but the bronde of the tauerne, wher there is no thyng but wyne, fayre egges and nothinge in theym, gynte pylles, and bytter in taste, an olde botteil and a new stappell, a hole wounde rancled vnderuethe, the sygure of an oxe to take partriches, a slypper waye, wher no fote is sure, and fynally an old louer is as a knyght decayd, that helpeth to lese money, and can helpe no man fro peryl. Of trouth the old lechcrous louer is as a swyne with a whyte heede and a grene tayle. Than me thynke ye that be my frendes and neyghbours, ye take no heede in breakyng the winges out of felon, whan the fethers be gone: and yet ye begyle me not, to saye that there is tyme poung. Belue me, that that may be done in the daye, leaue it not tyll the night of your age. For the blunt knyfe cutteth but yl with the edge, and he that is wont for to eate the fleshe, can not

Gg. III. eate

M A R C V S

este the boones. Than lette vs come to the remedye, to redresse this dommage, that is, yf that the house begyn to falle, shore and stape it not with pieces of slender tymbre, but with streight pylers of the lyfe, that we haue to yelde the goddis, and to men by good fame. And yf the vyne of all our vertues, be redy to be gathered, at the least lette vs gather that is lefte vs by vnderstandinge. And sythe the waters of oure reste, are wasted with our yll werkis, lette vs water them with newe muste of good desires, and ths the good goddis wyl be content with the scrupces, that we ought to do, for the merytes and rewardes that they do to vs, soo that if we desire, to attayne golde for our warkes, yet to pay vs with the copper of our good desires. And sy- nally, I say to you Claudio and Claudine, yf ye haue of fred the floute of your youth to byces, offre nowe at this tyme, the bianne of your age to the goddis. I haue wyp- ten thus largely to you, as I chynke: and bycause ye shall not be taken as cowardes, no; I for hardy, gyue no partie of this letter to any person.

C And I desyre you to haue me recommended vnto all my neyghbours in Roine, namely vnto D^rusine the hono- rable wydowe. I sende to the two thousande sexters, thou shalt gyue a thousande of them to Gautina the dough- ter to thy doughter, I sende it to her for a pleasure, which she dyd me at a feaste. Faustine my wyfe is very sycke. Thou shalte gyue the other thousande to the Westale vir- gines, that they may praye for her vnto the goddis. Unto the Claudine, Faustyne my wyfe, sendeth a coffre, but by the goddis I doo not knowe what there is within it. Nowe that ye be aged, I beseeche the goddis to sende you and me, and my wyfe, for to ende the reste of our dapes in a good lyfe. Marke your neyghbourt and frende hath wi- ten this with his owne hande.

letter sent fro Mark thempetour to Labinia a Romain
wydowe, for to comforthe her for the deth of her
husbande. The. vi. letter.

Mark of mounte Celio, first consull Romayn,
sent against the Daces, to þ Labinia Romain
lady, wyfe to my good frend Claudine, salute
to the, and consolation of the goddis consola-
tors. I think well, thou hast suspecte, that I
haue so lytel set by the, syth in thy profounde and greuous
hurtes, my consolation hath ben sloutheſul. But I remem-
bre thy noblenes, which can neuer fayle: and my good wil,
the which hath neuer desired to serue the. I am in suretie
that thy great vertue shulde put awaye the suspecte. For
thoughe I am the laſte to comforthe the, yet I am the fyſt
that feleth thy dolours, and shal not be the laſt to remedye
thy troubles. And in case that ignorance is the ende of all
vertues, esperance for all vices, as wel somtyme great ple-
ſure taketh awaye rest from the wiſe folkes, and ſcandreth
the innocentes: moche better amouge vs latyns we fynde
with ignorance of vices, moze than the grekes do with the
knowlege of vertues. If that we be ignorant, we haue no
peyne to abyde it, nor ſorowe to take it. I ſay it bycause I
haue knownen, that I wold not knowe, and that is, the tra-
uayles are at an ende of Claudine thy husband, and nowe
beginneth the ſorowe of Labinia. I haue knownen it cer-
tain dayſ, and wold not dyscouer it to the, for it ſhuld haue
ben crueltye. She that hath ben in trouble ſo long a ſpace
with absence, that I ſhulde haue gyuen knowlege of the
deth of ſuche an entierly desired husbande: and it hath ben
no reson, that ſhe of whom I haue receyued ſo many good
devis, ſhuld haue of me ſo pil newes. And ſith the houre þ
I knewe, that ye wyſte therof, my peyne hath ben double.
I fele

I fele his dethe, and nowe I fele in his death my solptaines, and thy desolation. Thou haste reason to wepe, notwithstanding that he is with the goddis in este, but for vs my ietable persons, lyuunge in the power of soo many ylles, therefore we shulde not cesse to take peyne and sorowe. O Labinia, ofte tymes I haue thoughte, for what thyng I myghte fynde wepe, for the yll that lyuethe, or for the good that dieth. For as moche hurreth the yll that is founde, as the good that is loste. It is great peyne to see these innocentes dye, and surely it is no lesse peyne to see the malitious people lyue. But of that that necessarie muste needes come, whan it cometh we ought not to sclaunder hit. Shewe me Labinia, doest thou not knowe of howe good conuersation the goddes be, to whome we hope to go, and howe yll the men be, with whom we are conuersaunt, that as the yll are boorne to dye, in lyke wyse the good dyeth to lyue. For a good man alway lyueth in dyenge, and the yll alwayes dyeth in lyuynge. And than syth the goddis haue caused him to come to theyn, it is no greatte thyng that they haue taken fro the. I am incertayne, thy desyred husband Claudiyn, and my true frende, seinge where he is, and remembryng what he hath scaped, had rather to be styllie there as he is, than to returne agayn to the. Of trouth the remedyes for widowes is not to thynke of any companye passed, nor of the solitarines present, but to thynke of the rest that they hope to come to. If hithervnto thou hast ben in peyne, abidynge in thy house, nowe reioyce the bycause he abydethe for the in his, for thou shalt be moche better entreated amonge the goddis, than here amonge men: nor consente not to thynke, that thou haste lost hym all onely. For syth we all reioyced of his lyfe, we are than bounde to wepe for his dethe. The greatest sorowe to a syke hart amonge all other sorowes, is to se other reioyce, at his doless,

louts: and contrarie wylle, the greatest easse amonge all
grieues of fortune, is to see that other feeleth their sorowe.
All that my frende wepeþ for me with his eies, and al that
he feeleth of my sorowe, dyschargeth somewhat myne in-
wardē pepne. The booke in the tyme of Auguste the em-
perour sheweth, howe as he was nere to the ryuet of Da-
nubius, he founde a maner of people, haunȝe this cu-
srome. The same houer whan a husbande taketh a wylle,
of a louer, they wold swere by theyr goddis, never to wepe
noȝ sorowe for any maner of infortune, but to forget theyr
owne propre troublis, and to dye to remedye theyr louer,
also in lyke wise eche to do with other. O gloriouȝ woldē,
O ryght happy age, O people of eternall memorie, wher-
in the men wete so humble, and theyr louers so true, that
wolde forgette theyr owne sorowe, and wepe for oþers. O
Rome beynge Rome, O tyme yll spente. O lyfe yll apply-
d, O small thoughte rechelesse in these dayes, the hartes
presente seperate frome welthe, and assured withoute re-
medy in euyll, that men forgettynge that they be menne,
rourne them selfe to be beastes? I desyre to gyue the lyfe, &
thou dyest to take awaȝ my lyfe: Thou wepest to see me
laugh, and I laugh to se the wepe. And thus withoute pro-
fye of any of vs we lese, and we reioyce in lesynge of our
selfe. By the lawe of an honest man I swere to the Laby-
nia, þf thy remedie laye in my handes, as thy sorowe doþe
at my harte, thy pytifulle wopynges shoulde not hurte
me, nor thy heuy and wofull solitarynes of thy husbande:
but syth thy remedie and my desyre can not be accomplis-
hed, and that with deathe, nor with them that be dead we
hauȝ no power: than rempt it unto the handes of the god-
dis, who can moche better deliuer vs than we can chuse.
We se by expecyence naturall, that some sykeresse is hea-
led by wordes, that he sayde to vs, and somme by wordes

þy that

M A R C V S

that be layde to vs, and some with wordes do leane other medicines. I say this, bycause the hertes that be in peyne make a see of thoughtes, somtyme comforted with benefites done to the persone, more than with wordes spoken in theyr cates: an other tyme the sorowfull herte is more comforted with wordes of a frende, than with all other serupcnes of the woorde. O how sorowfull am I, for in all these am I fauty, consyderynge the hyghnes of the honourable lady Romayn, and the small abilitie of me Marc of mount Celio: I see my selfe so vnable to comforte the, and to remedy the lacke substance, I haue made the a soze woud, the whiche wolde be taken in woxthe. I wyll not paye the with ynke and paper, that whiche I may do with my persone: so; he that gyuereth counsell with wordes, may remedy with woxkes, if he shewe hym selfe a frende in tyme past not taken in suspecte to be an ennemye in tyme to come. If thou hast reputed me hythereto for thy neyghbour and parent to thy husbaude, I praye the nowe to take me for thy husbaude in loue, and so; thy fater in counsayle, and so; sonne in serupce, and so; aduocate in the Senate, in suche maner that I hope thou shalt saye, all that I haue loste in many, I haue founde in Marke alone. And bycause that in greuous consyctes, wher as crafte and subtytie is forgotten, the vnderstandinge is altered, and the reasone withdrawn, thanue there is as moche necessytie of good counsell as of a meane remedy. Claudyne nowe deede, was my frende, and I Marc alþue am his, and also by thy de-serupnge thou mayst commaunde me what thou wylte: and so; the loue that I haue to the, thou mayst desyde of me any thyng nedfull. I praye the eschewe the extremite of the Romayne wydwes, so; in all extremities lyþe the byce, so; al suche werteth them selfe, and anoyeth the goddis, and leſe them that be alþue, & do no profit to them that be

he deed, but gyue suspcion to them þ be pl, as dyd Fuluis
 wife to noble Marc Marcelllo, she seing her husbande bu-
 gied in the felde of Mars, scratched her bysage, & bare her
 heire, & brake her teche, & at euery pace swoyned, & two se-
 natours helde her by the armes, bcause she shuld not hurt
 her self. Tha said flau⁹ Censutius, let her alone, for this
 day she wyl follow the iourney of wydowes, & so it was, for
 whiles þ the bones of Marcelllo were a brennyng, she was
 unretynge to mary an other husbād, & yet moxe to be noted,
 one of the senatours þ led her, gave her his hande, as one
 Roimain to an other by perpetual mariage. This case was
 so foule, & take of every man for a great vilany, & all the Ro-
 mainis there p̄esent were abashed, & were in suspect neuer
 after to beleue wydowe in Roome. I say not this Labinia,
 bcause thou wyl do so: for by the god Mars I swere, the
 hart of Marc hath of the no such suspect, nor thy great age
 wyl not suste it, nor the autoritic of soo sadde a matrone
 wyl demande it. I require the ryght hartely, forgette not
 the honestie that ought to be in a Romayn woman, nor re-
 trapte that is requisite in a wydowe. For yf thou be a wy-
 dowe of solytaries, that thou feldest by hym that is deed,
 than comforþe of the reputation that is holden of the by
 them that be lyuyng. I wyl say no moxe to the at this tyme
 but that thy tenoume may be suche with all men, to cast su-
 che a brydell vpon them that be pl, to cause them to be styl,
 and to them that be good to gyue them spurres to serue
 the. And yf ye wyl thus do, take no thought for any besy-
 nes that ye haue in the senate. My wyl faustyne greteth
 the, and oftentymes weþeth for this myladu[n]ture. I send
 the money to pay thy credytours. The goddis that haue
 gyuen teste to Claudiu[n]c thy husbande, gyue comforþe and
 consolation to Labinia his wyfe. Marc of mounte Cello
 hath wþten this with his owne hand.

CLetter sent by Marc the emperor to Cynclina.

as his frende, bycause he bringe a gentyl-

man became a marchant. **Ad iiii. viii. viii. viii.**

Ad iiii. viii. viii. viii. viii. viii. viii. **The. viii. letter.** **Ad iiii. viii. viii. viii.**



My Edili's Censure, to the Cincinatus
of Caput sende salutation for thy per-
son, to iure and vertue aperis sumister for-
tune. Syth the feast Bevescinte, mother
of the goddis, I haue sene no seruaunte
of thy house, no; letter of thy hande, that
I haue redde, the whiche putteth me in
great suspection of thy helthe, and that thou arte in some
peryll, or els thou dispayest our amitie. Dyschargyng
not thy selfe with so lypell thoughte, nor forgette vs not
with so great rychelesnes: for thy trauple can not be so
muche in wrytynge, as it shuld be consolation to me to rede
thy letters, and þt thy hande ware slowe stome trauple
of wrytynge, yet enforcynghyn hatte for myn ease, wherin is
semblaunt of true frendes. In that I wyll put the fro an-
noyance, and thou to do me pleasure: thou knowest wel
the small dystaunce that is betwene Capuc and mount Ce-
lio, was not the cause of our frendestyppe, but the space
hens to Illirico shuld not cause vs to be straungers. The
delycate wynes sent out of theþ; owne countrey to straun-
gers take the greater myght: and the ferther that the per-
sons of true frendes be scperate, the sooner they oughte to
vnyte & royne together they; myndes. Shewe me I prayþ
Cynclate, syth thou hast cuer founde me true, why hast
thou any suspecte of my desyre? The grene leus outwarde
shewethe, that the tree is not dypc inward: and the good
werkes openly nouiseth the inward hart secretly. Where
it is not p;ofyte, there is always bytakynge and faylyng in
seruppe:

troupe: for he that perflytly loueth, perpetually and faptly
fullly seuereth. And I am as moche affonied of thy slouthe,
as deauen byngc somewhat of me, as of thy cowardyse to
wite. I wyl confess to the ontrouthe, of thou haddeste
is moche hardynes as wyl and thought of the smalle ef-
fecte of my letter myght stay stille to the greates of thynt
understandinge, it shalbe abpde than soþ wyl done, but not
to thynre, as he that thynreth his speare. In tynre pastre
when I was ponge, and thou olde, thow in thy coufables,
þy with my money eche gaue to other: but at this houre,
that thy heod is whyte, men taken the to be olde, aþer thy
wokes accuse the to be ponge. Reason is that I succoure
my pouerthe with money, aþer ready thy lyghtenes with
muncel. For the good wyl that I haue to the, and for the
lawe of amitie that I owe to the, I wyl aduertysse the as
þervousse man ought to do, and that is to remembre the
benefites that he hath receyued, and to forget the misries
done to hym: esteem moche his owne smalle power, and
holde the greatnessse of other at nothing: favour the good,
and disfavour with the euill: be great with the greatest,
and communicable with your inferiours: presentye doo
good dedes, and also of them that be absent speake good
woþdes: The greuous losses of fortune, holde theym in
small estemation, and the small losse of honour, holde that
in great estemation, for one chyngc aduenture not money,
and for dyuers doubtfull aduenture not a certeinie: and
finally be frende to one, and ennemy to none. These thin-
ges ought he to haue, that amonige good wyl be accom-
pled good. I knowe well thou hast leste to be þretour of the
warre, and nowe thou hast sette thy selfe by lande and by
see to þe marchandise. Thou makest me soþe abashed, to
conquere thyn enemis as a Romayn, and nowe to take on
the, the office, to persecute thy frenes as a tyrant. Wylc
þh in thou

M A R C V S

thou do p̄ill to thy nryghbours, and leaue the straungers,
 Wylt thou take away the iuyngē fro hym that gyueth vs
 līving, & take away the deth fro hym that taketh awāy our
 lyfe, wilte thou to them that be mouers & straungers ḡue
 moderation, & fro them that be sober take away they; rest.
 Thou wylt gyue to them that take awāye fro vs, and take
 fro them that gyue vs: deliuer them that be condemned,
 and condemne innocentes. Thou wylt be tygaunt to the
 common welt, and not defndere of thy countreope. Than
 sithe to all this he aduentured hym that leaueth dedes of
 armes, and becometh a marchaunte. I stude p̄ soōe what
 hath meued the to leaue chnaltye, wherin thou haste had
 great honour, and nowe to take on the an office, wherby
 foloweth so moche shame and rebuke. Surely I thynke in
 the none other excuse, but that thou arte olde, and canst not
 clymbe the mountaynes, and nowe thou syttest syde, and
 cobbest the playnes. To olde men olde maladyc, whan out-
 warde force faylēth them, than forthwith they arme them
 with malycē inwarde. I saye it by the soōe couetous per-
 sons as thou arte now. One thynge I wyl say, thou haste
 taken an office, wherby all thy felowes haue robbed in dy-
 uers dayes, thou shalt gyue accompte therof in one hōuse,
 ye and after the tyne shall come, that thou shalte lese all in
 a moment. For the goddis p̄empt, that one shall be a cha-
 stysement of dyuers, and longe tyne chastyseth all. Howe-
 is it my frende Cyncinate, that in the house of thy father,
 Cyncinate were speares, and not w̄tynge hangynge? I
 haue sene his halle full of armure, & not of fardels: and
 portall and gates full of knyghtes, & not marchantis. Cer-
 tainly there haue I sene the scōle of noblenes, and not as
 it is now the denne of theues. O Cincinate, cursed be so vi-
 layn an office, the marchatis lyue p̄oelp to dye tyche: a let
 vs say agayn, cursed be it, bycause the couetyse of one that

is yll

is yll, wylde be accomplayshed to the preiudice of many that
be good. I wyl not hurte the by thy predecessours, but I
wyl aduertise the of thy miseryc and of thy successors. If
thou thyngest þ thy vertue shulde holde to the ende of the
world, as the wylde holdeth to the, as hit semeth by thy
þyng heates, holde me excused of the trauayle in perswa-
yng the to here me. Now be it, it is reason, that the gate of
so great a cause be knocked at with the haimer of som wat-
ring, & to bring it to good reson, of necessarie it must passe
the myll: And to make cleare the vnderstandingyng from tyme
to tyme, of wch nede there requireth counsell. Dyuers ty-
mes wch newfayle, bycause they wold faile, but if the thin-
ges be of such qualite, that wysdom suffiseth not to as-
sure them, than it is needefull, that his wyl be byped, and
his vnderstandingyng dissolved, and his owne propre opini-
on vopd, & than incontinent to take a thred to the aduysse
of an other. Take good heede Cynuate, wher as the fou-
nacions be not wel edified, the buildinges ar in peryl. The
dungeon of this wold, wherin the children of vanite do a-
byde, is founded on the sande. For let it be neuert so sump-
tuous, þt a lytell blisse of wynde wyl cause it to shake,
and a lytell heade of prosperite wyl open it, and within a shorþ whyle
of space, whan we least take heede, it wyl fall all flatte on þ
earth. If the pyllets be of spluer, and benches of golde, and
thougþ the benches be kynges, and conciue a thousande
pere, and rulc into the entrayles of the erthe: yett they can
synde no frefe to the moþ mountayne, wherin to cloose
the goodes of thy predecessours, and their estates perpe-
tiall. The goddis immortall haue made all thynges com-
municable to men mortall, excepte immortallitie: and ther-
fore they be called immortall, bycause they never dye, & we
be called mortall and faylyng, bycause we all take an ende.

Howe

Howe stronge so dure the walles be, yett great age causeth
 it to fall to ruine. Two thinges semeth to be free, the whiche
 fortune can not set abacke, no; the tyme cause to be for-
 gotten, & they be these: The good o; pit tenoume amoung
 men, and the peyne o; rewarde that they that be good o;
 yll haue of the goddis. O my frende Cyncinate, thus a-
 cheueth the perones, but the goddis never. What greate
 o; type, o; rotten holdeth any season the fruyte of the tree
 floured? I esteme it no thyng, bycause it muste dye by na-
 ture. Howe be it dyuers tymes in leaues and floweres we
 beare the froste of some maladie, o; the blast of some cru-
 elous myshap. Longe is the webbe in makynge: but it that
 is made in many dags, is cut asonder in a moment. Sem-
 blably it is a piteous thing to see a man dye with so greate
 trauayle, and to be sette in the state of honour, and after
 warde we regardynge neyther the one nor the other, and
 yet we stiue perlysh. And without any memory of any thing
 abydynge. O my frende Cyncinate, for the loue betwene
 vs I pray the, and by the immortall goddis I conure the
 beleue not the worlde, the whiche vnder the colour of a pite-
 tell golde, hydeth moche sylthynesse: and vnder colour of
 trouthe chaungeth vs into a. M. lycs: and so; a shoulde-
 lyte gyueth vs a. M. displeasures. To them whom it she-
 weth most loue, it begyleth with greatest trumpetyes: to
 whom the worlde gyueth moche goodes, it procureth moche
 domages: to them that setueth it with mockeries, hit re-
 wardeth with true recompences: and to them that louest
 truly, it gyueth them goodes of mockeries: finally when
 we slepe mooste surest, it waketh vs with greate peryll.
 What wylt thou say than of the worlde, shewe me? One
 thyng I wylt tell the, and me thyng thou shaldest not
 forgette it: and that is, we ought not to beleue the wayne
 vanities that we se with our eyes, rather than the greate
 mer-

meruailes that we haue with oure eres. One thing I haue
ngatced, and by longe experiance I haue knownen it, that
but a fewe howses paynted noȝ stalles raised vp, we haue
seen in Rome: but of a small tyme they take no thoughte
for the walles, but they haue cruell enimies with theyȝ
nelyghbours, and great anoy of theyȝ heyses, and impoȝ-
tunate shame of theyȝ scandes, and double malycie of their
enimies, and envious prouice in the Senate, & somtyme to
put a gouernour out of possession, they set founte in honoȝ:
and finally all that with great thought haue be gathered
for their chylde, whom they loue well with great rest, som-
tyme an other herre entropeth it, of whom they thynke leest.
It is a iuste sentence, that such as begylle dyuers with yll-
edes in theyȝ lyfe, shuld be begyled of theyȝ vayn thought-
es at their deth. Cruell shalde the goddis be, and ryghte-
neuous for men to suffre, that the yle that hath gathered
in one herre in p̄ejudice of dyuers that be good, shulde
mioye it many peres. Me thinke it shalde be a souerayne
solye to be borne weppinge, to dye sychyng, and to lyue
laughyringe. The rule to gouerne all partes ought to be e-
gall. O Cynclate, who hath begyled the, that for a potte
full of water, thou haue nede of a greate laake of this
world to passe this wretched lyfe: wylt thou slay away the
shynne of thy handes with the corde of thoughtes, breake
thy body in batayle with great trauaile, and aduenture
thyne honour for one potte of water? sothat wylte thou
more that I shulde say: but that to fyll a potte of thy goo-
des thou wylt suffre a .m. perylles. And in the yle exer-
cysing of thy marchandysse, thou doubtest not for lesyng
of thy credence. And finally I sweare to the, thou shalt a-
byde deed for thurste, as thoughte there were no water in
the feldes. If thou wylt do by my counsell, Desyre deathe
of the goddis, to resse the as an aged wyse man: and de-

31 maunde

maunde not rycheſſe to lyue vþ as a yonge foole. I haue
ſooþe wepte for many, that I haue ſene in Rome departed
oute of thiſ world, and for the I haue wepte droppes of
blode, to ſe the retoure newly & blyely to the world. My
amitie and the credite of the ſenate, the bloude of thy pre-
deceſſours, the auctorite of thy perſon, and the honour of
the countreye oughte to refrayne thy couetouuſneſſe. Oh
frende, thy wþte heares ſheweth honour and wylde dome,
the whiche ſhuld exercyſe and be occupied in noble dedes.
Regarde, It auayleth more to folowe reaſon by the wayes
of them that be good, than the common opinyon, whiche is
the large way of them that be yll. For though the one be
ſtrayte for the fete, it reſeteth no dufte for to blynde the eies
as the other dothe, to lyghte yonge perſons, the whiche
procure lyghtneſſe, ignorance excuſeth them; but the diſ-
ordinate couetyſe of the olde perſones, cauſeth them to
occupie theyȝ lyfe with trauayle, and to take deaſt with
great annoyauſe, and in the one as well as in the other
abydeth great infamy. O Cyncinate, take thiſ counſaile
of a frende: Charge not thy ſelue with takynge of thiſ
wayne goodes, syth thou haſſe ſo ſmalle a moſſeile of thy
lyfe. For ſuſe as thou arte, me ſee conſume, and waſte,
and not ſo quickeſſe. But no truſte in frendes in thiſ preſent
proſperitie, for it is a pronouſtication of an euyll fortune.
And syth thou arte in a haſarde lyke a foole, me thynke
thou oughteſt to diſcende a foote lyke a ſage perſon. And
thus euery man wiſſeſſe ſay, hoþe Cyncinate is diſcended,
and not fallen. I wiſſe ſay no more, but the goddis be thy
ſauegarde, and defende bothe the and me fro me gylfulle
fortune. My wþte fauſtynne ſaluteth the, and ſhe is with-
drawen fro me, becauſe I wiſſe thiſ letter to the, and
hathe coniured me to wiſte thiſ wordē to the, that is, ſhe
ſay the thou oughteſt to haue wþte when thy necke is full

of heare, and I thynke thou oughtest to contynente to take a barber, & shawe away the heare, that thy wytte may come forth. I wolde thy couertyse shulde for sake the, & folyn faustyn, and the gowte me, and the soner our soules may departe fro our fleshe, than gile shuld remayne in our hat-
us. Marc of mount Cello wryteth this with his hande.

Ca letter sent fro Marc the emperour to Catulus censorous, that was sorrowfull for the deth of his sonne Verissimus.

The. viii. letter.

Marc censure newe and yonge, salute and reue-
rence to the Catulus censorous olde and aun-
cient. I haue wryten two letters to the, & thou
hast made answere to none of them. If it be
bycause thou couldest not, I holde my peace:
If it be bycause thou woldest not, than I complayne me:
If it be for forgetfulnes, thā I accuse the: If it be bycause
thou setteste lytell by me, than I appeale the: If thou
haste d̄reamed, that thou haste wrytten, I say beleue not
in d̄reames: And yf thou wylle not it shulde baple to glo-
rifie me as a stende, yet thou myghtest take it wryte in ad-
vertisinge & repreuyng as the fader to the son. yong ver-
mouſe persons are boide to honouſt auncynte wylſe men,
& no leſſe olde wylſe men ought to endoctryne the yong peo-
ple and very yonge, as I am. I iuste thynge it is, that the
new forſes of yongh ſupply & ſerue them that are worne by
age. For they ſonge expeſtente mocketh out tender age &
natural ignorance, yongh is pl applied, when it ſurmoþeth
the forſe of the body, & ſayleth the vertuies of the ſoule: &
age is honoured, wherin the forſe dyeth outwarde, whet by
vertuies quakneth the moſe inward, we may ſe the iſe whic
the ſtrupre is gaſeted the leaſe fal, and when flowers dyp,

It is than

than moxe grene and percyte are the rotes. I meane that
 whan the first season of yowth is passed, which is the So-
 met tyme, than cometh aye called wynter, and puttifieth
 the fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fauour falle, and
 the floures of delyte are wypdered, and the bynes of hope
 dyed outwarde, than it is ryght, that moche better the ro-
 tes of good warkes within be good. They that be old and
 auncient ought to prayse they; good werkes rather than
 they; white heares. For honour ought to be gyuen for the
 good lyfe, and not for the whyte heade. Gloriouſ is that
 common welthe, and fortunate is that prynce, that is lord
 of yonge men to trauayle, and ancient persons to counsel.
 As to regarde the susteynynge of the naturalitie of the life
 in lykewise ought to be confydered the polycie of gouer-
 naunce, the whiche is that al the fruities come noȝ dyng not
 al at ones, but whan one begynneth an other fayleth. And
 in this maner ye that be auncient teachyng us, and we
 obedient, as olde fathers and yonge pullettes, beyng in
 the nestes of the senate. Of some their fethers fallyng, and
 other yonge fethered: and wher as the olde fathers can
 not flye, their trauaylies are mayntayned by they; tendes
 chyldren. Frende Catulus, I purposed not to wryte one
 lyne this pere, bycause my penne was troubled with thy
 slouthe: but the smallenes of my spyppe, and the greate
 peryll of myn offices always called on me to demande thy
 counsell. This priuilege the olde wyse men holde in they;
 houses where they dwelle: They are always lordes ouer
 them that be spynle, and are sclauens to them that be wyse.
 I thynke thou haſte forȝotten me, thynkyng that sythe
 the dethe of my dere sonne Merissimus, the tyme hath ben
 so longe, that I shulde forȝete it. Thou haſt occasion to
 thynke so, for many thynges remmeth in tyme, that reason
 can not helpe. But in this casc I can not tell whiche is the
 greatest

greatest, thy trumpetie of my dolour. I sweare to the by
the goddis immortall, that the hungry wormes in the en-
trayles of the unhappy chylde, are not so puisante, as are
the cruell dolours in the harte of the fater soye wounded.
And it is no comparason, for the son is ded but one tyme,
þþ heuy fater dieth euery moment. what wylt thou more
that I shulde say: but that one ought to haue enuy of his
deth, & compassio of my lyfe, because in dienge he lyueth, &
in lyuyng I dye. In yl fortunes in case of lyfe, & in þ sub-
til aduersties of fortune, where as her gyles profiteth but
lyttel, and her strength lesse, I thinke the besse remedy is
to fele it as a man, and dissimule it as discret and wise. If
all thynges as they be felte at harte shulde be shewed out-
warde with the tonge, I thynke that the wyndes shoulde
breake the harte with sighinges, and water all the erthe
with wepyng. ¶ If the corporall eies sawe the hurt of the
hart with a true wound, I swere to the, there they shuld se
more of a droppe of bloudde sweatynge within, thanne all
the wepyng that is made outwarde. There is no compa-
nyson of the great dolours of the bodye, to the leest peyne
that the spirite feleth. For all traunayle of the bodye, menne
may fynde some remedy, but yf the heuy harte speke, it is
not hatde: yf it wepe, it is not sene: yf it complayne hit is
not beleued. What shall the poore harte do: Abhorre the
lyfe, wherwith it dieth: and desire deth, wherwith it lyueth.
The high vertues amonge noble vertuous people consy-
steth not al onyl to suffre the passions of the body, but al-
so to dissimule them of the soule. They be suche that alter
the humours, and shewe hit not outwarde: They byng
a feuer without alterynge the of pouice: They alter the
stromake: They make vs to knele to the erthe, to suffre the
water vp to the mouth, & to take death without leauynge
of the lyfe: And fynally they lengthe our lyfe, to thenteute

¶ i. i. that

M A R C V S

that we shulde haue the mo^e trauaylle, and denþetþe vs
our sepulture to thentente that we shulde not rest.
But consideringe, If I be troubled with tribulacions, as
well am I lette with consolacions. for euer I haue either
desyre of the one, or wetynes of the other. I take this
remedye to dissimule with the tongue, and to wepe with
the eyes, and to fele it with my harte. I passe my lyfe, as
he that hopethe to lese all that he hathe, and never to reco-
uer that is lost. I say this, though pe se me not now make
funerall wepynges and waylynges, as I dyd at the deth
of my sonne, yet thynke not but it doth brenne my harte, so
that with the inwarde greatt heate is consumed the hu-
myditie of the cies outward, for it brennethe all my spp-
rites inwarde. Thou mayste knowe what an honoura-
ble father suffrethe to lese a good chylde: In all thynges
the goddes be lyberall, excepte in gyuynge vs vertuous
chylðen. Wherere there is aboundaunce of great estates,
there is greatest scarlitie of good inherytours. It is a
great hurte to here, and greater to see, howe these fathers
clyme to haue ryches, and to see they^r chylðen discende to
haue vyciouenes: To se the fathers honour they^r chyl-
ðen, and the chylðen to infame they^r fathers: yea and sometyme
the fathers dye for soþowe that they^r chylðen dye so soone,
and we se the chylðen wepe, bycause they^r fathers dye so
late. What shulde I saye mo^e, but that the honour and
riches that the fathers haue procured with great thought
the chylðen lose with lyttell care. I am certayne of one
thyng, that the fathers may gather ryches with strength
and crafte, to susteyne they^r chylðen, but the goddis wyll
not haue durable that that is begon with eupill intention,
and is founded to the p̄ejudice of other, and is possessed
with

with an eyfull heire. And though the heuy destenes of the fader permit, that the riches be left to their childre to serue them in all their vyses so; they; pasty me, at last according to their merites, the goddis wyl that the heye & herytage shul be peryshe. Marke what I say, I hadde two sonnes, Comode & the prince Merissimus, the yonger is dead, that was greatest in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the good lyued, I shuld be poynted, & now that the yl remayneth, I thynke to be ryche. I shall shewe the why, the goddis ar so pitiful, that to a poore fader they never gyue yl chyld: & to a riche fader they never gyue a good chyld. And as in al prosperite alway there falleth some sinister fortune, either soone or late, so therwith fortune doth arme & apparel vs, wherin she seeth we shal fal to our greatest hurt. And therfore the goddis permit, that the couetous faders in gading with great trauayle shuld die with that hurt, to leue their riches to they; vicious childre yll implied. I wepe as moch so; my child þ the goddis haue lefte me, as so; hun þ they haue taken fro me. For þ small estimatiō of hym that liueth maketh immortal memory of him þ is deed. The yl test & cōuersatiō of them that lyue, cause vs to sigh for the company of them that be dead. The yl is alway desired so; his ylnes to be deed, & the good alway meriteteth to haue his deth bewailed. I say my frend Catulus, I thought to haue loste my wit, whā I saw my son Merissime dye: but I take cōfort ayen: for eyther hs of me, or I of hym must se the ende. Considering that the goddis dyd but lende hym to me & gaue hym not, & how they be inheritors, & I to haue þ yle of the fruit. So; al thing is measured by the iust wyl of the goddes, & not by our disordinate wyls & appetites. I thynke whā they toke awaþ from me my chylde, I restored hym to an other, & not that they haue taken myn. But with it is the wyl of the goddis to gyue rest to the good chyld,

and

M A R C V S

and hurte the father bycause he is yll, I yeilde thankes to them: for the seasone that they haue suffered me to enioye his lyfe: And for the pacience that I haue taken for his deth, I desyre them to mytigate therewith the chaffisement of their yre. And I desyre, syth they haue taken awaye the lyfe from this chylde, to cause good customes to be in the punce myne other sonne. I knowe what heuynesse thou haste take in Rome for my sorowe. I pray to the goddis to sende the ioye of thy chylde me, and that I maye rewarde the with some ioye, for that thou haste wept for my peyne. My wyl faustine saluteth the: and thou woldest haue compasyon to se her: for she wepeth with her eies, and syggeth with her harte, and with her handes hurtehet her selfe, and cursed with her tonge. She eateth nothyng on the daye, no; sleepeth in the nyght. She loueth darkenes, and abhorreteth lyght, and therof I haue no remedie: for it is seafone, that for that was nourished in her entrayles, she shulde fele sorowe in the same. And the loue of the mother is soo stronge, though her chylde be dead and layde in se-pulture, yet alwayes she hath hym quicke in her harte. It is a generall rule, that the person that is entierly beloued, causeth euer great gref at the deth. And as for me I passe the lyfe tyght sorrowfully: though I shewe a ioyfull face, yet I want myrth at my harte. And amoung wyse men brynging sorowfull, and shewynge their faces myry, is none other thyng but burienge the quicke, hauyng no sepulture. And I sweare by the goddis immortall, I fele moch more than I haue sayde. And bryuers tymes me thynke I shuld fal downe, bycause I dare not wepe with myne eies yet I fele it inwardly. I wolde sayne common with the bryuers thynges. Come I pray the to Wyrette, to shewen that we maye speake to gether. And sythe it hath pleased the goddis to take my chylde fro me, that I loved so well,

I wolde counsell with the, that att my louyng stend. But
sime dayes past, there came hyther an ambassadour fro
the Rodes, to whom I gaue the mooste parte of my horseg:
and fro the farthest parte of Spayne, there were broughte
me xiiij. of whiche I sende the xiiiij. I wolde they were such
as my ghe please the. The goddis be thy safegarde, and
sende me, and my wypke some ioyc. Marcus Aurelius right
sowfull, hath wypen this with his owne hande.

CA letter sent by Marc the emperour, to
Markurino beyng at Spany, nowe
called Benauente.
The xij. letter.



My spetiall stende and auncient compa-
on, a messenger of thyne, and a lackeye
of myne, wente out togyther at Capue,
the one bare my desyre and affection to
the, and the other broughte a letter to
me. And yf thou loke well, thou mayst
see my hart as full of thoughtes, as I se
thy letter full of complayntes. Thou dost sende to comfort
me in my feuer tercian, I thanke the greatly therof, and
it is come in a good season. For the goynge of the feuer
out of my pouise, and the ioye of thy letter to my spirite, is
all one. And surely if this case be lefte in my hande, and
that my feuer retorne not, tha thy consolation shal serue.
Lo beholde the miserie of man, that presumeth to take a-
way realmes from other, and yet can not take the feuer out
of my bones. Thou knowest well, that we loue togyther,
and of a longe season thyne amitie hath trusted in me. My
trouthe byndeth me, that thyne ylles shoule be myne,
and my goodes thyne. And there is crewe loue, where be

two bodies seporate, and but one hart togither. And there
 is but a bytter loue, where the hartes be as ferre as onder,
 as the straungenes of their persones. Take heds I praye
 the, that our loue be not inuenimed with vnkyndnes, nor
 out remembraunce empoysoned with small thoughtes, and
 I beyng an other than thou art here, & thou beyng an o-
 ther than I am there, in maner that myn absence with thy
 presence, and my presence with thy absence, may speake to
 gyther. Thy messager hath shewed me the losse of thy goo-
 des, and by the letter, I knowe the anguyssh of thy per-
 sonne. And it hath ben shewed me, that thou haste hadde
 a shyppe perlyshed, and that thy factours, lyke wyse men,
 to saue theyz personnes, dydde throuwe thy marchandyse in
 to the see. Me thynke, thy shyppe hathe eased the of thy
 charge. But I thynke as it semeth by the, they throuwe not
 so many fardels into the see, as thoughtes into thy harte.
 And accordyng as thou were before, I shoulde be more
 bounde to serche for thy leade and tynne, thanne for thy
 harte. Thy leade is sonken to the bottome, but thy coun-
 sell is spede abroode ouer all the wold. If thou shoul-
 dese nowe dñe, and thy bodye be opened, of trouthe I
 thynke, that thy hart shuld be rather found drowned with
 thy leade, than alyue with thy bodye. O Mercurius, atte
 this houre thou selest no maladye of any feuer tervian, as
 I doo, for the harte of thy bodye, and the dolour of thy
 spirite, causeth the to haue a quattayne. And this euill is
 not in the body, but in the shyppe, not on the erthe, but in
 the see: not with phisitians, but philosophers. I couisayle
 the to seke helthe: so i there thy lyfe is drowned, where thy
 leade is sonken. Be not angry, for though thou haste not
 thy leade with the, thy leade hath the with it. Ofte tymes
 auarice seketh out the auaricious, and somtyme the au-
 arious seke auarice. It is shewed me, thou arte soþ, by-
 cause

cause thy domage can haue no remedy: and doest thou not
know, that where no remedy is, thou oughtest to take pa-
tience? O Mercurius, nowe thou knoweste, þ whan thou
diddest aduenture thy goodes to the suspiciois rockes, &
thy desp̄es to the depe wawes of the see, and thy couragi-
ous auatryce, to the imþortunate wþudes, and thy leed to
spaunge waters, and as iþous, and desþous as thy fa-
mours went forth, in trusse of wynnynge, as moche nowe
thou arte sure of the losse: and thus is thy desp̄e drowned
and thy hope scaperd: Doest thou not remembre, that So-
crates, castynge into the see, not leade, but golde, not a ly-
tel, but a great dele, n̄t goodes of other mennes, but of
his owne, not by fortune, but by his wþedome, sayde, I
wyll drown these gylffull rychesses, to thentent that they
shall not drown me: But I thynke, if a man shuld se the
do so, he shuld here the sap: O my swete rychesses, I had
rather drown my self, þā other shuld drown you: This
ancient wþse man durst not trusse in golde, & thou wylte
trust on leade: cast lottes amouge your goddis, he of Ath-
enes, and thou of Rome, whiche of you hath most fayled, or
dis is moste assured: he, that cast his gold from the erth, in
to the se, or elles thou that woldest bryng thy leade out of
the se vpon the erth: I knowe, that the ancient Romains
wyl sap, it is he, and the þresent couetous folke wyll saye,
it is thy selfe. And I thynke, in this thou art disp̄aysed in
the þapse therof, and the disp̄aysed is allowed of all men.
Thy messenger tolde me, that thou were right sorþ and he-
vy, and crieste out in the nyghte, callynge on the goddes,
and wakeste thy neyghbours, complaynyng on fortune.
I am sorþ dyspleased for thy heuines, because sorþwe is
nexte frende to thy solitarynes, and ennemy to company,
and heþe of desperation. I am sorþe for thy cryenges in
the nyghte: for it induseth folþ. For the nyght, couerynge
þh ii all

all the woldē with derknes, thou alone wylt discouer thy
hatte with crienges. I am not plesed, that thou compla-
nest vpon the goddis, bycause they haue taken some thing
fro the: bycause thou that were alofte, they haue broughe
lower: Nor I am not plesed, that thou awakest thy neigh-
bours for thy ryches, that caused them to enuy the: thy pa-
cience shuld moue them to cōpassyon. Nor I am not cōter,
that thou shuldest so complayne on fortune: for the thyngē
so well knowē of many, shuld not be infamed by one alone
O Mercurius remēbre, that with the ff, with whom truce
is taken, thou wylt entre agayne into the field of defiance.
We vnbend, and thou wylt spend thy spedes. Thou never
camest into the fielde, and yet thou woldest enioye the tri-
umph. All be stopped, and thou woldest passe surely. Thou
yeldest thy selfe to fortune, and doest thou not knowe, how
she beteth downe the high wals, and defendeth the olde ro-
ten ho:ses, and peopleth where ther lacketh people, and
unpeopleth where as peple be: Of enuies she maketh fren-
des, and of frendes enuies, and dispoteth the vāquishers
and crowneth them that be ouercom. Of traitours, she ma-
keth true men, and trewe menne she maketh suspecte per-
sons. And fynally, fortune is suchē a maystresse, that she
ruleth realmes, ouercommeth armies, beateth downe kin-
ges, exalteth tyrantes, to the deed she gryueth lyfe, and to
some renoume, and to some shame. Why syckest thou to
her. Doest thou not remembre the worde, that the kyng of
the Lacedemonens hadde at his gate, sayenge: This
house is at the puttyng downe of fortune. In good sothe
these were hyghe wodes, and of greate vndertandynge,
he knewe fortune moche better than thou, such he rekeneth
his house at fortunes disposition, and not for inheritance.
And þe he hadde loste any thyngē, as thou haste done, he
thoughte, that she restored it to other as they; s, and had
not

got taken his. Reason holdeth confidence, to argue thy
 reason, by that she deposeth the fro thy heynghete, to be an
 heriter: so; he that lyueth, heryteth deathe, and not death
 he lyfeth, for all dyeth, and it heryteth al in they; lyfe. Wylt
 thou take vengeaunce, of that hath gyuen the so moch peyn
 Therfore take this councel: be frende to fortunes enmye,
 the whiche is the graue: Ouer them that be boorne, and not
 ouer them that dye, is her empync. O howe many greate
 lordes haue ben the thoughtes of thy harte, so as many
 wromes shall be in thyn entrayles: What greater victo-
 ry may be, thanne she that ouercometh all lyuers, shall be
 vanquished of the aloneley by dethe. I sayc one thyng to
 the, that all onely he that is closed in his graue, is assured
 of all thynges of this lyfe. Thy messenger shewed me, that
 this sommer thou woldest come to Rome, and now that it
 is wynter, thou wylte sayle into Alexandrye. O my frende
 Mercurio, whan thy lyfe draweth to an ende, thou begin-
 nest to be auaritious. Thou shalt fynde two cities in this
 wold, in two extremytes, Rome the heed of vice, and Al-
 exaundrye the ende of all vertues. I say of thy merchaun-
 dyce, in Rome thou doost charge thy body with vices, and
 in Alexraundrye thy harte with thoughtes. I swere by the
 othe of a iuste man, that thou shalte haue moze desyre, of
 that thou leauest, then contentation of that thou bearest
 away. Thou remembrest not, howe it is wynter, and thou
 must passe the see, & but if the pylotes lye to me, the caulme
 season most sure, is the vigil of þ moze vnfortune. Thou
 wylt saye, thy shypes be voyde, and therfore they shall go
 moze surcely. I beleue they shal go moze charged with auar-
 ice, thanne they shall come with sylke. O what a good
 chaunge shal it be, if the auarice of Italy myght be chaunc-
 ged for sylke of Alexandry. I knowe surcely they; sylke wil
 lade a shyppe, and our auarice wyl lade a hole nete. Great

is that couetyse, whiche the shame of the woldē doth not
 repreue, nor the feare of death stoppe, nor reason appoyn̄t.
 I say it, bycause that he, which in suchē a tyme offrech him
 selfe to peryl, cyther couetise surmounteth hym, or els vn-
 derstandinge fayleth hym. And bycause I can finde none
 other excuse sufficient to excuse me to the, but that thou art
 as moche knownen by the see, as vnknowen to the goddis,
 that is, the vnstable waues knowe the wicked harte and
 vnrestefull, and the harde rockes vncruly menne: and one
 wynd knoweth an other wynd. I pray the shewe me, what
 thou wylt go serche: Wylt thou go into the gulfe of Acpi-
 no for to seke thy leade: Than take hede, and thynke, how
 the fyſhe hath eaten thy harde leade, and let them not eate
 thy softe fleshe. Thou wylt peraduenture go seke thy goo-
 des with peryll of thy lyfe, and to leaue tenowme at thy
 deth. Knowest thou not, that suchē renoume, is a salue for
 a rewine, a baune for a swoynynge, lyght to a blynde per-
 sonne, a nyghtingale to the deafe: I wyl discouer the en-
 busheiment, et thou falle therin. Thou sclesthe thought for
 thy selfe, enuye for thy neyghbours, spurres for thyne
 enemis, wakynge for theues, peryll for thy body, damnati-
 on for thy renome, the endyngē of thy lyfe, flyghte for thy
 frendes, processe for thy chylđren, and cursynge for thyne
 heires. And bycause the feuer hasteth towarde me, I leaue
 my penne to write any more. My wyfe Faustine saluteth
 the, and is soye displeased for thy losse. I sende the a prou-
 sion, to the entent that a shippe may be gyuen the, bycause
 thou shuldest not lose thy wytte. If thou be in Alexandrie
 returne not by Rhodes, leaste the Pyrates take the. The
 goddis be thy saufgarde, and send me and other good life,
 and good name with straungers.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Antigonus.
comfortyng hym in a sorowfull case
The tenth letter.



Arke pretour Romayne, Edile, Censorine, cō-
panyon of the empire, to the Antigonus ba-
nished, sendeth greeting to thy part, and good
hope of the senate. To me beyng in Cam-
pain, thy heuy case was shewed, and at this
houre in the temple of Jupiter was thy pitifull letter deli-
vered to me. I sele as moche as thou feleste, and am hurte
with as many woudes. As thou art separate fro thy neigh-
bours, so in likewise I am banished fro my wittes: and I
wepe at this howze for the, as thou in my trauaples hast
wepte for me: and nowe I sele for the, as thou haste selte
for me. For to frendes afflicted with sorowe, we oughte to
gyue remedie to their persones, and consolation and com-
passion to their hartes. I swere to the by the lawe of good
men, in this case I haue not ben uncourteys of aunciente
tyme, nor cruell at this tyme, to feele it. As I redde the ly-
nes of thy letter, I coulde not holde my handes from sha-
dynge, nor my harte from syghyng, nor myn eyen fro we-
pyng, to se the small thing that thou sendest to demaunde.
and moche more for lacke of power to sende to the. The
greatest infortune of all infortunes, is whan a man may
do lyttell, and wolde do moche. And the greatest fortune
of all fortunes is, whan a man maye do moche, and wylle
do but lyttell. In this I wyll se, if thou hast forgotten out
amitie, and aduenturest at one tyme, that I haue trusted
in the dyners times. Thou knowest wel, that in the yonge
daies of my youth, al thinges were discharged fro my hart
and charged them to thyne understandynge. Than it is a
iuste thing, that thy trauaples shuld be discharged fro thy
wyll

wyll, and charged vpon my hart. And in this maner, thou and other, shall see and here, that my handes shalbe as ready to remedy the, as my teares of weppinge are for thy damage. Nowe come to the reste of euill fortunc. Thou gyuest me knowledge, that the goddis haue taken a daughter fro the: And the monstrous erthquake hath throwen downe thy howse, and the senate hath gyuen a sentence agaynst the, wherby thy goodes are loste, and thy persone banished. The goddis be to me as propyce and iuste, as they haue ben cruelle to the. I am soye abashed, of that my spirite hath conceyued in this, as of the losse, that thou & thy wif haue felt: yet am I not abashed of the monstre, that feareth the people, nor of the trymbyng, that hath shaken downe thy howses, nor of the fyre, that hath brent thy goodes, nor of the goddis that haue permittid such thynges to falle: But I am abashed, that there is so moche malycie in the, and in thy neyghbours: for the whiche iustely ye do deserue to haue so horryble and cruelle chastisementes. Beleue me in one thyng Antigonus, and double it not, yf men lyued lyke men, and chaunged not the rule of conditours, the goddis wolde then be alwayes as goddis, not to cause vs to be borne of our mothers, to gyue vs so cruelle chastisementes by the hand of monstrous beastes. Certaynely it is iuste and moste iuste, that brute beastes be chalysed by other brute beastes, and the monstrous, by other monstrous beastes, and suche as offend with greatt fautes, to be punyshed with great peynes.

I say to the one thyng, the whiche semeth a newe thyng to the, and that is this, the euill persones offend moche by infanry, than the goddis gyue theyin peyne for it, rather than for the offence that is committed agaynst them. As the goddis naturally be pitiefull, and alwaye haue the name therof, so we are always euyl, and our euylnes and sham-

full

folkes call the goddis coucil, in that ther sygynghadisement openly, and for they seyn not our secrete hynesse. Then the goddis haue reason to complain, because we with our synnes offend them, and they by our cruelties are infamed. An inesseble rule it is, that the priefull goddis do not punynche extremelie with extreme chaydementes, sythe that syfte the vicious men doo extremelye with extreme byses. The tyme that Catullus was banished Capre, and that the frenche men possessed Rome, Luctus Clavus consule was sent by the senate to the oracle of Apollo, to deuide himself, what the Romayne people shuld do to be deliuered out of the kyngreat perylle. And thare this consule was adapes within the temple on his knes before Apollo, offerynge right straunge sacrifices, and shewynge teareis with weppynge, and yet he could e haue none answere: and so with no small inconueniences he returned to Rome. Then the holp senat sent out of euerysteple two prieses and whan they were prostrate on the erthe, Apollo sapde: As onc begynnyng is correspondyng to an other begynnyng; and onc place to an other. Meruayle thou not, thought by the reasoun of an extreme deuinaunde, I shewed up selfe extreme to answere ye Romaynes sythe ye fayle men ye come to sole to the goddis, for the occasion wherof we wyllyng you no good couylde whan ye haue nede, wyl permitte that men shulde favour you, whan ye goo to sole for them. They arde my frindes, not for the sacrifices, that ye haue offred to me, but for the amytie, that I haue had with your fathers to tyme past, I myl discouer to you a secrete xhe infidels us, that ye shall say to the Romaynes for me. But thynge. The sy. Deuill, herc. neuer than brayne the goddis for an other than, for heare that the goddis deuyng for the myldeable dñe in his wchis wchis gryng wchis gryng

tie. The. ii. is, that mo^{re} amaylesþe to holde the parte of
one of the goddis immortall, that is in heuen, than with
all the mortall men in the woldre. The. iii. is, that men
shulde beware to anoye the goddis, for the yngre of the god-
des doth more damage than the iniquite of all men. The
iii. is, the goddis never forȝette a man at any tyme, but
if the goddis be forȝotten by men a. M. tyme. The. v.
is, that the goddis do suffre, that one shal be persecuted
by an other that is ple, or they haue sy^gnt persecuted one
that is good. And therfore pe are stynke with the feates of
the stenchemen: because pe haue persecuted and banyshed
Camillus your naturall neyghbour. The. vi. is, if the
men wyl haue the goddis fauourable in the tyme of wame
they maste secue them sy^gnt in tyme of peaces. The. vii. is,
that the pitifull goddes sendeth not to any realme som
extreme chaffusement, but if it be forȝ some extreme offens-
ces committid in the same realme. And shewe to the Sen-
ate, that I wold make none answere to Lucius Clarius,
þycause they sent so yll a man to they^z god Apollo as am-
bassador, the whiche they ought not to haue done. þt may
þt may us take this counsell of me, and þt þt syndre it piltake
no more of me, In a straunge message sende alwayes the
moste eloquent men, and in your senate set the myself men
And committre your hostes to valiant capitayns: and to
your goddes sende alway the moste innocēt men. The. ix.
goddes never appesse their armes against þnjust men: but
if the requirent be þtþy innocent and weake, for a com^þre
vessel is not made cleane but with fayre water. For with
foule handes it is hard to make the vessel cleane. The god-
des be so iust, that they wyl not gyne iustis thynges but by
hades of iust me. Finally I say if þt wyl byne the frenche
men poluerisched out of þtþy landes, sy^gnt cast out the
þtþs þtþy purgatoryes. þtþy make soþtounly þtþs the god-
des

his wylle neverdigne pouer enemis out of Italy, epith C. 7.
mptius and al the gylties that be banfhes, be returnd a-
gyn to Rome. Cestaynly the cruell warres that the god-
dis permytted at this tyme presente, is but a warwyngc of
the chaffusementes for offences passed. so that the pl men
haue done to the innocentes in dynges dayes, after by the
handes of other that be pl, the paince is made in one daye.
This answete Apollo made to the plisshes flampnes, that
were sent to hym out of Rome, whiche thyng made the se-
nate so ze abashed. I remembre, that in the boke of the aunc-
iente of the goddis, in the annales of the capitol, there I
funde it: the whiche boke the fyfth daye of every monethe
was red by a senatour, before al the other senatours of the
Senate. Therfore stend Antigon², as the god Apollo sayd,
A thou wylt not byleue me, that am thy frende, before the
god Apollo. O Antigonus, beholde howe the understand-
ing of vapn men are but besly to the spirates of the god-
dis, whiche are secret and hid: and whiche as they speke, al
other ought to be shylle. For one counsell of the goddis is
more worthy to mocke, than al the couisells of me, though
they be never so etnest. Of whens thinkest thou that this
cometh? I shall shewe the: The goddis are so perfyte in
all knowledg, and so wyls in al wisedome, and we are so vi in
all malycy, & so simple in all symplexes, that though they
wolde erre, they can not because they be goddis: and we
wolde be assured, erre, because we be men. And hercyn I se
what a bryte beast man is: for all these mortall men are so
entier in they² owne wylles, that they wyl lose more in fo-
lowyng their owne opinion, than wyrme by the counsel of
an other man: and that wrost of al is, they take so the bytte
in the teeth in dynges wyl, that there is no brydell that can
restayne them. And they are so slowe to do well, that there
is no priche nor spouche that can drype them forwarde.

L. II. Chon

Thou doest complaunce of the pnyffull goddes, and of the
laccate senate. Also thou complaignest of toyfull fortune.
There thynges there be, that one of them is laoughe with
one stroke of a stome, to take away thy lyfe, and bury thy
renoume. And whan eche of them hath drawen the apart,
than al together wyl flyke on the with stomes. Thou hast
taken great competitours, and yet I knowe not what thy
woorthyness is. I shall shewe the some strengthes and val-
iantnes that the aunciente barons hadde, and therby thou
shalt se, what they of this woylde dothe holde.

C The felawe of Scipio Nasica toke a serpente in the
mountayns of Egipt, whiche after it was slayne, slayed,
and the skynne measured in the felde of Mars, it was. bi.
score fote of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his force
with the serpente Hydpa. And in flykyng of one of his
heedes, there sprange out. bi. other heades.

C Mylon the gyaunt to exercise his strength was accus-
med every day to ouertake a bul with runnyng a foote, and
cast hym downe, and he made many courses with the bul,
as it were an other naked ponge man: and yet, that was
more metuayle, he with one stroke of his fyst stewe the bul,
and the same daye wold eate hym all together.

C On mount Olympe Cerastus the gyaunt of the nacion
of Grece, wastaled with mo than. i. 9. manne, and none
coude styppe nor shake hym. And if Homere begyleth vs not
of this gyaunt, he was of suche fame and dedes, that eue-
ry fourte yeres, there was a custome, that al nations of the
woylde went to wastle at mount Olympe. And therof came
the rekenyng of the Olympiades.

C In the second warre punike among the captiues of so-
rowefull Carthage, Scipio brought a manne, a lord of
Mautptayne, ryght strong and fierie to behold: and in ce-
lebracyng a spectacle in the palayes of Rome, whiche was
than

part of grete terrorishe, there were innumerable beastes, monat. This captiue prisoner leapt into the park, and knel in two braces, and was stalled with a lyon a great whyle: finally being sore hunte with the lyons pawes, he strangled the lyon with his handes. This was a monstros chyngisland nowe it semeth incredyble to be belued.

In the yere. CCCC. xx. of the foundation of Rome, Cu no Ledent a renowned capitayne, comynge fro Tarante agaynst Pappo king of the Spurres he was the first that brought him Oliphates to Rome the day of his triumph. Stages and places were made for. xxx. M. men to se the mynginge of these Oliphantes: and in the myddes of the pastyme, the plankes brake, and felwe mo than. v. M. persons. And amoung them there was Frumatian, the whiche lay upon his shulders a planke with mo than. iii. C. men vll that he and they were succoured.

Capus Cesar beyng poyng, sennge the compayne of Sylla, bpcuse he was perteynge to Matius, he beyng amoung the Robiens wan his meate with coursing a cumynge of hōses, with his handes boundt behynd hym. It was a monstros chyngt to se, as the annales wytnesse: howe he wolde gyrdt the hōses with his knees soo faste, as though he had drawen them with the reynes of theyr hōdelles.

In the. xvi. yere that the capitayne of Cartagenens entred into Italy, our auncient fathers sente to the realme of Frigie for the dycsse Metecynchia, mother of the goddis: and whan she arryued at the poorte Hostie, the shyppe that she came in, ranne upon the sande, and by the space of. iii. dages. xxx. M. men, that came in the armye, coude not remoue it: by chauice came thyther one of the virgins bachelis named Irea, whiche with her gyrdelle tyed to the shyppe, drawe it to the lande as easly as she wolde haue drawen

drawen a threde from the distaffe. And to the intende that
 we shulde beleue suche thynges, as we here were borne in
 tymes past, we may knowe it by dedes done psonely in our
 dags. I remembre whan my lord Alderman came to Dacie
 he dydde celebrare a spectacle in ROME, wherin there was
 mo than. ii. M. wylde bestes. And the thyng most notable
 þ we haue sene, there was a knyght borne by the riuer Da-
 nubio, who toke a horse, and ran into the park, and slewe
 so many wylde bestes, that there fledde fro hym Lyons, leo-
 pardes, beares, olyphantes, and we dyd see fro them; and
 he slewe mo of them than they dyd of men. These strange
 thynges I haue recyted to the, that of all these I am not
 so abashed, as I am of the, to se the redye to doo armes a-
 gainst the goddis, and agenst the senate, and agenst for-
 tune. These thye are gyantnes in vertuousse valpauntyse,
 and happy at all tymes: and they be suche as commaunde
 them that commande other. The goddis by theys natura-
 lyc and powre close vp the furies, and gouerne the ster-
 tes. And the senate with theys iustisye ouercommeth zeal-
 mes, and subdueth tyrantes: and fortune with her stamp
 taketh them that they leane, and leauethe them that they
 take: and honoureteth them that they dyhonour, and shas-
 styseth them that serue her: she begyleth euery person, and
 no person begyleth her: she promylseth moche, and fulfyl-
 leth nothyng: her songe is wepyng, and her wepyng is
 songe, to them that be deed amoung wormes, and to them
 that lyue in fortunes: at them that be present she spurneth
 with her fete, and threateth them that be absent. All wylde
 men shynke fro her, but thou lyke a sole shewelle her thy-
 face. Of one thyng I am abashed of the, to complayne of
 the senate, and yet I metuaple not: for in conclusion they
 be but men: yet of trouth in thynges of iustynce they ought
 to be more than men. And to complaign on fortune, I mer-
 uaple

apple not a lyttell: for in the ende fortune is fortune amog
mortal men. And all the heuens is of an aunciente qua-
ntite, and whan we are besette with moost greateste qua-
ntites, than she stryveth vs with most greevous hurtes. I
have great wonder, that thou beynge a Romaine, complaineſt
on the goddes, as if thou were one of the barbariens. We
Romayns are not so mocht renommed among all nations
in the multitude of realmes that we haue ouercome, as
we are for the great churches and seruices that we haue
made. Thys complaynſt, howe the goddes haue broken
thy houses with an eſtquake, and haue ſlayne thy dough
it, felowe in thy battyſhemēte, and all in one daye: But
thou doest not remembrie the offences that thou haſt comiſſt
to thyneſt casas. O my frende Antigon, thou knowest
it, þ out of out þ processes cometh forth good ſentences;
and thou knowest not, þ oure wicked wokes are but a wa-
king of true iuſtice. Doþoþ thou not, that the fierſe cha-
iſementes, is but a p̄ſſe that haſteth the greet cominges
of our poore deſires, and knowest thou not, that it is no
thynge that the goddes do thys openly, to that they do
all thys in ſcrette. Woulſt thou not knowe, that in conſcu-
ſion the goddes be goddes, & the mortalles are mortaliſe;
and they may do vs more good in one day, than we can do
ſtrake in a. C. 99. yetſt thou not knowe, that the
laste pl̄dome by the handes of the peſiefull goddes, is more
goodeſſe than all the wealth that maye come by the handes
of the coulmeor. Whaþher of doſt thou complaynſ I pray
the beſt. And ſith thou art amoug ſtraygers ſuffer, And
thou wilche haue honour, dishonour not the goddes of the
Romayns. For the ioniſt me do greet iuſtice to ſpeke þil-
le of þem that be iuſtly ſpecially of the goddes, for they are
moſt iuſtly. I am a ſeſt. Corne ſayth the greetiſt fauor is
men that is good, to approue þe rather þaþ is good;
and the
ſeſt

MAR C V ASYA

and the moche grevitye puel in any ill shal be to comfute
 the good for the ill. Thou knowest how to holde the god-
 dis be. Offer to the they change not for ame prayer, no
 leue not for ame th; eterninges and mocke not by wordes;
 no, be not corrupte with gyses. Great ought thyne offence
 to be, if the the hach taken vengeance for the goddis;
 and thy innocent daughter hach payde the faute, for the
 offence of her fathet. O Antigone. Dost thou not know,
 that in all thynges the goddis maye wreke after their owne
 opinion and wylle, excepte in iustice: for in that they be
 goddis of all, they oughte to be egall to all. And if they
 bountie doth bynde them to rewarde vs for goodnesse, no
 lesse they; iustice constraineth them to challice vs for our
 ylles. It is a greate custome, and a ryghteouse iustice,
 he that wyllyngely draweth to syne, agaynst his wylles
 drawen to peyne. I say it bycause thy daughter hath leue
 to do some good openly, or elles she hath done somes counte-
 ylls, syth in her yowch her lyfe is bereued from her fathet
 for ensample of chastisement in other. And in the ende of
 thy letter thou complaikest, that the peyne that men doe
 to the, is more greater than the offences that thou hast
 done to the goddis. And if hit be thus frawle Antigone,
 thou oughtest to haue no byspesasure, but pleasure, no he-
 uynes but roye. And I sweare to the by the immortall god-
 dis, I wolde gladlye change my lyfes for thy captiuitie,
 and the state of Rome for thy banishment of syngel. And
 I shall tellle the whiche is honoured amounghe them
 that be honoured, that fortune abateth without fure, and
 he is shamed amounghe them that be shamed, that fortune
 inhabeth without merite. for the shame is not in the me-
 uementes that is done to vs by men, but it is of the offence
 that we committ agaynst the goddis. And as lyke as the
 honourable honour resteth not in the oppponens that hit
 haue

naise, but in the good workes, wherby we merpte. And
herby the wordes seme trewe, that the xi. empetour of
Rome bare wryten in a tynge on his synger, whiche sayde
thus: More is he to be honoured, that deserueth honour,
than he that hath it and deserueth it not. These wordes
are greatly to be noted, and spoken by a great lord. Than
comtourne to the purpose. Thou complaynest of the wron-
ges and greues that men do to men, and leue the goddis.
I haue no meruayle: for as the goddis do never vnuste
thynges, so the menne never lyghtly do any thyngi iuste.
Note this that I say, and forgette it not. The senate gy-
ueth an open peyne, and publyssheth the secrete faulce, in
suche maner that with the peyne they hurte vs, and with
the faute the shame vs. The goddes are moxe pitiefull:
for though they gyue vs peyn, yet they kepe the faut close.
I my frend Antigone, though the goddes gather togider
the flouthe and wyckednes, that we commytle secretelyle,
Believe me and doubt not, the goddis gyue lyfe to many,
the whiche men beteweth. Therfore I thynke, that thou
shuldest thynke and wryte, that syth the goddis haue suf-
fered the ylles that thou hast done secretly, that thou muste
suffre open chalengement, that men haue gyuen to the. For
otherwyse thinkinge to put away the peyne, thou shalt a-
byde charged with infamy. I haue wryten to the this long
tyme, to thentent that thou shuldest haue some thyng to
passe the tyme with. Certaynly the greatest easemente to
ease hym that is in travayle, is to exercyse the wauetyng
harte with some good occupations. I wyll wryte no more
to the at this tyme, but as touchyng thy banysshemente,
truste me I shall bryngethe at one with the senate. I sende
Panutius my secretarie to the, gyue as moche credence to
his wordes, as to my letter. And he bryngeth a gowne to
the, and therwith my harte and wylle for to comforthe the.

Mm Salu-

Salutation, peace, and good age be with the: and the tre
of the goddis and yll fortune be seperate fro me. Marke,
my household, wyfe, and chyldre salute the as thyn owne.
And we salute all thy familie as our owne. Though the
halfe of my letter be not of my hande, comforde the, for my
harde is entely thyne. Thou knowest howe I was gre-
uously hurte in the warres of Dacie in my hande, and in
moyste wethers one of my syngers lepereth. Thus I make
an ende as alwayes thyn owne.

Can other letter sent by Marc the emperor to the
same Antigonus agaynst cruell iuges.

Chelueuth letter.

Marke the sycke manne, to the Antigonus ba-
nished, desyreteth salute for hym, and rest for
the. To eschewe the enuyous trauayles of
Rome, and to se certayne bookes of Hebrewe,
that were broughte to me fro Helpa, I came
hyther to Sanya: I made great haaste in my tournaiges,
how be it at Salon the feuer toke me: and the xx. daye of
June I receyued thy seconde letter, and the same houre
the feuer quartayne toke me. I thynke none of vs bothe
had the better hande. For neyther my longe letter dydde
put away thy trauayle, nor thy shorte letter dyd put away
my feuer. And though as nowe the felyng of thy trauaile
minisheth that I had, the more brenneth the desyre to re-
medy the. Therfore I wyll say some thyng to the, but not
that I fynde any consolation that thou haste nede therof.
In the lawe of Rhodes I haue founde these wordes: we
commaunde, that none be so hardy to gyue counsayl with
out remedy: for the wordes to hym þ is in trouble gyuethe
small consolation, whā there is no remedy. Also the harte
that is in sorow, hath more rest shewyng his own greues,
than

with herpinge the consolation of other. Thou sayest in thy
letter, that the censures are right rigorously in that realme:
and therfore al that nation hath þi wyll with the senate. I
believe well they haue good occasioun therof: for dishonest
men make the ministers of iustice to be tygerous, and
namely they of that p[ro]le. For there is an ancient proverbe,
that sayth, lyghtly all these p[ro]les are þi, and the Siciliens
worste of all. Now adays the þi are mighty in they[re] ylnes,
and the good with they[re] vertues are kepte so close, that þ[er]e
there be not some b[ea]rdell by iustice, the þi shuld possesse al
the world, and the good shuld fynyshe sholtly. But finally
to consider how vnable we be borne, & ar enuironned with
so many ylles, beynge subiecte to so many miseries. I mer-
vayne not of the humanities that the humain people com-
mytteth: but I am ashamed of the cruel sentence that our
Censures do, not as Romayns, but as cruel tyra[n]tes. Of
one thyng I am so[re] abashed, and greatly it troubleth my
wyttes, seinge naturally & of right the iustice of the god-
dis is good, and we offendynge them, and that haue iustice
but lent to vs, yet we gloriifie vs to be cruell: so þ[er]e the god-
dis do pardon iuriies done to the, wherby fame of meke-
nes abydeth to them: and we chasyse the iuriies of other
wherby we wyn the fame of tyra[n]tes. In good sothe ther[er]
is no man among men, no[ne] humain among the humauis,
but he is as a brute beast, and wilde among wylde beastes,
that nameth hym selfe to be of the fleshe, and hath no pitie
to hurte other fleshe: For considereth not, that the goddis
hath made hym a meke beast & lowly by nature, & he beco-
meth a fiers serpente by malice. In the xi. yere of the fou-
dation of Rome, Romulus the first kynge sent a comande-
ment into al places & realms rygh to hym: as to the Wol-
gues, Sarmites, & Russiens, to Capue, Tarentis, & Alba-
noys: to thentent that all such as were banyshed troubled

and persecuted in their realmes, shuld come to Rome, and there they shulde be receyued and well entreated: and ex-
cept the hyssories lyce, Rome was more inhabyted in tene-
peres, than Babylon or Cartage in a. C. peres. O glori-
ous harte of Romulus, that such a thyng inuented: and
glorios tongue, that such a thyng comisundid: and
glorios was the citye or countrey, that fouded them vpon
suche mercy and pytie. I haue founde dyuers letters of
dyuers realmes of the oriente, sent forth, inclyning thus
to the kyng of Parthes in Asie, to the conscript fathers
of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and vnto all
them of that empyre, hauyng the name of Romaynes,
and surname of clemency, Salutation to your persones,
we sende peace and tranquilitie to you, as we demaunde
the same of the goddis.

¶ Thus than regarde, what gloriouſ title of Clemencie
our predecesſors Romaynes had: and what exaumple
of clemency they haue left for al emperours to come. Take
this for certayne, that the Censures or mynsters of Ju-
ſtice, forgettynge the pitie of the romayns, shall be repute-
ted cruelle, as Barbariens: No: Rome shall not repute
them as her natuall chylđren, but as cruell ennemys:
and not for augmentours of the common welthe, but infa-
mours and robbers of clemency.

¶ Whan I was of the age of xxxiiii. yere, beyng in the
yle of Crete, nowe called Cypres, in wynter tyme, There
was a mountayne called Archadio, wher vpon foure pyl-
lers were sette, and a sepulchre of a kyng of worthy fame,
and in his lyfe pitiefull and full of mercy: and as one shew-
ed me, there were certayne wrod̄es wyten in greke let-
ters rounde about the sepulchre, savenge thus: I haue ta-
ken to me alwayes this counſale, wher as I myght do
but lytell good, I never dyd harme: & that that I myght
haue

were with peace, I never stouefor: Muche as I myght
overcome with prayer, I never feared with thretyninges.
whereto as I myght comedy secretly, I dyd never chastise
openly: theym that I myghte correcce with warninges,
I never burred with beatyninges: Muche as I chastyed
openly, I synte aduertised secretly: and syntally I never
chastyed one, but I forgaue four. I am ryght sorrowfull
bycause that I haue chastyed: and am glad bycause that
I pardoned. In as moche as I was borne as a manne,
my fleshe is here eaten with wormes: and bycause I haue
lived vertuously in my lyfe, my spittit shal now rest with
the goddis.

Howe thynkeste thou my frende Antygonus, what an
epitaphye was this? And howe glorious was his lyfe,
bythe the memorie of hym vnto this daye abydeth soone
mortall. And as the goddis may helpe me in al goodnes,
and defende me fro yll, I haue not so great delyte at Pompey
with his army, nor at Gaius Julius Cesare with his
Gaules of Fraunce, nor at Scipio with his Africane, as
I haue at the kyng of Cypres with his sepulcher. for that
kyng hath more glorie in that mountayne beingd deade,
than all the other had in all theyr lyues, with al theyr cry-
umphes, that euer they had in Rome. I say not, but that
the wyckednes of yll people shulde be chastyed: for with-
out comparyson, he is worse that fauoureth the ylle, than
he that commyngeth the yll: for the one procedeth of wcke-
nes: and the other of malice. But it semeth to me, and to al
other that be wylle, that as the synne is naturall, and the
chastytement volitarie: so ought the rigour of Justyce to
be temperate, so that the ministers shoulde shewe com-
passion rather than vengeaunce: wherby the trespassours
shulde haue seasyon to amende theyr synne passed, and
not to reuenge the murde present. O what places and

tealmes haue ben loste, not for the pl people
hath committed, but rather by the disordinate Justyce, that
the ministers of iustyce haue exercised. Thinking by their
rigour to correcte the damages passed, wherby hath tyson
sclaunders and syfe, neuer none such hard of afore. whi
a p̄ince sendeth any person with the charge of iustyce, he
ought to say to hym these wordes, whiche Auguste Cesar
sayd to the gouernour of Africke: I put not the confidēce
of myn honour into thy handes, no; comitte to the my iu-
styce, to be a distoyer of innocentes, no; an execucioner of
synners: but that with one hande thou shuldest helpe the
good to maynayn them therin: & with the other hande to
helpe to reysē them that be yll from they; nougtynesse.
And myn intention is to sende the forth to be a p̄eceptour
of orphans, and an aduocate for wydowes, a surgyon for
all woundes, a staffe for the blynde, a fater to euery per-
son, to speke fayre to myn ennemys, & to reioyce my fren-
des. In this maner I wolde thou shuldest vse thy selfe in
euery place, so that by the fame of pitifulnes, suchē as be
myn shalbe in teste & content to be my subiectes, and that
straungers shalbe desyrous to come and to serue me.

Chis instructiō Auguste Cesar gaue to a gouernour of
his, because it was shewed him, that he was somwhat cru-
ell in that realme. Certaynly they were shorte wordes, but
they be right copendious. And wold to god they were wri-
ten in the hartes of our iuges. Thou wistest, how that he
is soze troubled by reason of h̄ censures & iuges therof. It
is a noyfull traualye to receyue the auctorite of iustyce
into the hande of an iuitile man: and it is a thng not to
be suffred, that one with tyranny shulde tyrannysse dyuers
other: not with the life, but with the auctorite to correcte
good men, therby to be called a good cēsure. The auctorite
of his office givē to him by his p̄ince oughte to be his ac-
cessarye

¶ Carle, and his good lyfe for principall: in suchemanner,
that by the rectitude of his justice, the yll shuld fels the ex-
ecution therof. All that haue auctorite shuld temp̄e it with
wyſedome & putenes of liuyng. It is a great goodnes to
the comon welth, and great confusyon to hym that is cha-
styſed in peyne, whā the miserable that is chaſtyſed, seeth
nothyng in hym that chaſtyſeth, wherby he hath deser-
ued to be chaſtyſed. And certaynly, it is great slackenes in a
puince to comaunde, and great shame to the comon welthe
to conſente, and greate inconuenience and reprofe to the
widge to excute: whan a poore wretche for a ſmall faute is
put to more pryne for the ſame ſinal faute done in one day,
than is gauen to them that be great for many tyraunyes,
that they haue committed durynge their life. These be they
that peruerre the common welth, and ſclander the woldē,
and put them ſelue out of auctorite.

CIn the.iii. yere that great P̄opeie toke Elia, the which
is nowe Jeruſalem, the ſame tyme beyng there Valerius
Graccus, thider came a Hebrewe, or a iewe, as the anna-
les ſhewe, to complayne to the ſenate of the w̄onges and
greues that were done to hym in that londe, & ſo in doyng
his errāde in the name of al that puince, he ſayd these wo-
des: O fathers conſcript, O happy people, your fatall de-
ſenies puniſte, and our god leueth vs with Jeruſale, lady
of al Iude, a mother to þ Eb̄iues, to be in ſeruage of Rome
& to the Romayns: Certeynly gret was þ power of P̄opey
& moche þ force of his army to take vs. But therfore
I ſay, that greater was the ȳe of our god, & without com-
parison the multitude of our ſymes, wherby we dyd mea-
nire to be lost. I wold ye knew one thiſg, & it ſoze diſpleseth
me, þ ye Romayns haue not proued it by expeſiſce. That
is, our god is ſo iuſt, þ if among vs there had be. x. iuſt me
g among. I. M. pl, one good, he wold haue pdoned al þ yll;

And

M A R C U S

And than ye Romayns shuld haue sene as the Egyptieng
 dyd, howe our god alone may do moch more than all your
 goddis togyther. And certaynly as longe as we be spu-
 nets, so longe ye shall be our lordes. And as longe as the
 yre of the Hebrewes god doth endure, so longe shall the po-
 wer of the Romayns laste. And bycause in this case I fo-
 lowe one way, and by your secte ye folowe an other wape,
 ye can not retourne to honout one god onely, nor I to ho-
 nour dyuers goddis. I wyll leue this matter to the god,
 by whose power we haue ben nourished, & by whose bothe
 we be gouerned, and returne to the case of our embassade,
 ye knowe what peace hath ben betwene Ryme and Iude
 and betwene Iudee and Ryme, we with you, and ye with
 vs. In all thynges we haue obeyed you, and pe vs. Noo
 iuste thyng we haue denied you. And bycause there is no
 thyng more desyred of the people, and lessc put in opera-
 tion than is peace, and there is no thyng more abhorred,
 by the which abhorryng euery man iþueth, tha is warre. I
 do warn you of this with truthe, þroughe therfore iustice,
 put them awaie þ folowe your wylles to do vs yl. And in
 vs haue no suche maliciose folke, as intyse vs to rebell.
 The greatteste signe and strongeste yylle of peace is to
 put away the pertubers of peace. What profite is to say
 peace peace, & in secrete to say warre warre. I say this by
 cause ye haue banished the eldest son of king Idumeo out
 of Lyon for his demerites, and ye haue sente in his stede
 Campanius, Marcus, Ruffus, and Valerius Graccus,
 for presidents. They be. iii. plages, or. iii. pestilences, so
 that the leaste of them were sufficient to empoyson the hole
 empire of Ryme, than moche soner our miserable realme
 of Palestyn. What thyng can be more monstros, than
 that the iudges of Ryme shulde sende men to put away yl
 customes fro them that be yll, and they them selfes are the

inuen-

memours of newe wrongs, what greater shame and in-
conuenience is in iustice, than they that haue auctorite
to chastrise wanton youth, to gloriifie them selfe to be capit-
aines of the armes that be wylde? What greater infamye
can be in Roine, than they that ought to be vertuouse and
wise, to gyue example to other to be yll and bicious? I lye
if they haue not so wrythen and enlarged the discipline of
iustice, that they haue taughe the youthe of Jude suche
byces, that haue not ben haerde of by our fathers, nor red
in no bookes, nor sene in our fyne. O Romayns beleue me
in one thyng, what counsilles Jude hath taken of Rome
at this houre, lette Rome take of Judee. Many realmes
are gotten with myghty capitaynes, and moche shedyng
of blode, and ought to be obserued with a good iudge, not
in shedyng of blode, but in gettyng of hartes. Certayn-
ly the iudge that wynneth moo good wylles than money,
ought to be beloued: and he that serueth for moneye, and
loseth the good wylles, for cuet oughte to be abhorred as
pestylence. What thyng ye is the cause nowe adays, that
ourt presidencies be not obeyed in a iust cause? Of a trouth
it is bycause, that synt the commaunde bniuste thynges.
The commaundementes that be iust, maketh soft & meek
hartes, and suche as be vnjust, maketh men cruell. We be
so mysterable in all myseties, that to hym that commaun-
deth well, we obey yll: and the more yll they commaunde,
the more obeyed wolde they be. Beleue me in one thyng,
that of the great lyghtnes and small sadnes of the iuges,
is breddelittell feare and great shame in the subiectes, we
that be ielous thynk our selfe wel aduertised by the mouth
of our god that saþt, Every pþnce commyngtynge charge
of iustice to hym that he seeth vnable to execute the same,
or doþe not pþincipally for Iustice sake accomplishe iu-
stice, but doþ it for his owne profyte, or els to please the

An partie

partie thynke surely, whan the prince dothe not regard
 this, by some way that he thynketh least of, he shall se his
 honour infamed, his credence lost, his good minished, and
 some great chastysement come to his house. And bycause
 I haue other thynges to say in secret, I wyll conclude as
 nowe openly. Finally I saye, if ye wyll consecue your re-
 alme longe tyme, for the whiche ye haue put your selfe in
 great perylles, kepe and mayntaine Justice, and we shall
 beare you reuerence: Commaunde as Romans, and we
 shall obey as Hebrewes: Gyue vs a presydent, that is met-
 full, and all our realme shal be obedyent: Be not to cruel
 to chastyse our mkenes, and we shal be the more obedient
 to your preemynēce: I require you desyre vs of ye comand
 for in desyryng & not comandynge, ye shall fynde loue as
 fathers to the chyldeyn. And no treason as of lordes to ser-
 uantes. All these thynges sayd the iewe, wherof the senate
 had great myng. And forthwith the senatours prouy-
 ded for. iii. iuste thinges. The one was, that all these lord-
 es shulde be put in wryting, to thentent that they shulde
 be put in the booke ordeyned to wryte in all good saynges
 of all straunge ambassadours. The seconde to put downe
 Gracchus Valerius, bycause he was so cruel, and in hatted
 with the people. The thirde, they prouyded Pilate of Lion
 to be presydent of that realme. Channe howe semeth it to
 the my stende Antigonus, dydde not this Hebrewe speake
 hyghly? O Rome without Rome, that of Rome holdeth
 nothynge but the walles, and art fallen into mynistry by-
 ces. what dyddest thou whan suche a shame was layde to
 the by an Hebrewe in the myddes of the senator. Certaynly
 the greatest plague among all plagues, and the greatest losse
 amonge all losses, is whan the prince hath his lyfe so with-
 out lyfe, his iustice so without iustice, his debes so with-
 out dedes, & in all evyl so bold and hardy, and in al good-
 ness

as such a coward, that rightwisely his owne men do accuse hym, and straungers repreue hym, none doeth loue hym, but all hate hym, and his frendes wyl not helpe hym, his ennemis wyl persecute hym: They that be present confuse his goodnes, and they that be absente procure his ill: they that lyue take awaye his lyfe, and the deade his sepulchre. Nowe to retourne to the purpose of our iuges. I praye the Antigonus, shewe me thy mynde, wherof cometh nowe adayes the great scalaundre of the people, the infamie of the prince, and the peryll in Justyce: If thou knowest it not, harken and I shall shewe the, wherby all goth out of order. They that be pypue are so impotunate, and the pincis not refusyng them: they begilyng and he sufferinge to be begyled: The one with couetyse, and the other with igno:iance, doth gyue to suche, that he shoulde take fro, and take awaye fro suche as he shulde gyue vnto and honoureth them that dishonouret hym, kepereth the ryght wisc in pypson, and deluyereth the bicious, dispiseth experie persones, and trusteth them that be leude: and finally they proupde not offices to men, but men to offyces. They ordene the vniuste to minister iustyce, and do iniicie to them that be iust. yet here and I shall shew the more. These mysterables after that they be appoynted and sette in theyr offices, wherof they be nothyng worthy, more for theyr auctorite than for myerte of theyr persones, they ate feared with theyr extreme iustyce. They take on them the state of greate men with the sweatte and labour of poore men: They supply with malice that they wante of discetion: And wrost of al, they mesure the iustyce of other men with theyr owne propre utiltie. yet harken and I shal say more. After that these ideotes se them selfe in the gulfe of these vayn besnesses, than they lacke the reyne of knowleghe, & the staples of wisdome, & the ankers of experiance.

An ii. no;

no; can not remedy a small matter, but irruante other mo^{re}
greater, alterynge and troublynge the peace for they; owne
particular welth. They wepe for their owne harine, and
no lessse for the welth of other, and fynally lese them selfes.
And therfore they aduenture them selfe into the gulfes, a
indame they; lodes, that haue gyuen them suche offices,
to gyue them to such as haue deserued them. Thou mayst
know, that the beginning of them is pyde and ambition,
and they; middell is chyue and malyce, and they; ende is
death and destruction. And if my bouncell were taken, su-
che shulde haue no credence with p^rinces o^r gouernours,
but as sclaundred men to be secrete, not all onely fro the
common welthe, but fro they; lyues. Surely great is the
couetyse of them that be shamelesse, whiche without shame
demaunde offices of the senate o^r princis: but it is a mo^{re}
boldenes of malyce for the princis to gyue them. In this
and in the other thynges these are so dampnable, that ney-
ther the feare of the goddis doth withdrawe them, no; the
prince doth not refrayne them, no; vengeaunce dothe not
lette them, no; the common welth doth not accuse theym,
and aboue all other reason, doth not commaund them, no;
the lawe subdue them.

O my frend Antigonus note this w^rde that I write
in the ende of my letter. In the pere of the foundation of
Rome. vi. C. clu. the Romaynes as thanne in the w^rde
hadde dyuers warres, as Gapus Celius agaynst them of
Trace, and Gueo Cordon his brother agaynst Hardyne,
Junius Sylla agaynst the Umbres, Minutius Ruffus a
gaynst the Macidoniens, Seruilio Scipio agaynst the
Lusitayns, and Marius consull agaynst Jugurtha kyng
of the Numidiens. It befell so that Boco kyng of Ma-
ritayne fauoured Jugurtha, and vpon them triumphed
Marius, and they laded with chaines were led afore his
chariot

chriot, not without great compasyon of them that sawe
it. After this triumph done, inconuenient the same day by
oursell of the senate, Jugurtha was beheaded in pyson,
and his companion Bocus had pardon of his life, and the
cause was, It was a custome none to be putte to iustice,
but synt the auncient booke shuld be serched, to se if any
of his predecessours had done before any seruice to Rome
wherby the captiue shulde merite to haue pardone of his
lyfe: and than it was founde, that the grauntfater of Bo-
cus came to Rome, and made great orations before the se-
nate, by whose wordes and sentences, his sayd newe me-
rited to haue pardon of his life: and amonge other of his
sayenges, he rehersed these verses that sayd: what is that
realme, where is no good amonge the yll, nor yll amonge
the good: what is that realme, that hath theyz houses ful
of good simple persons, and banysheth away al wisdom:
Or what is that realme, that suche as be good are cowar-
des, and the yll hardye: or what is the realme, where al pe-
sible are displeased, and the sedicyous praysed: What is
that realme that sleeth them that wolde theyz welthe, and
are angry with them that wolde helpe theyz yll: or what is
that realme, that permitteth the proude poore folkes, and
the ryche tyzantes: or what is that realme, where they all
know the euyl, and none procureth any goodnes: or what
is that realme, where suche vices are openly commytted,
that other realmes feare to doo secretly: or what is that
realme, where as all that they desyre they procure, and all
that they do procure, they attayne, and all that is yll they
thynde, and al that they thynde they say, & al that they say
they may do, and all that they may do, they dare doo, and
put in operation that they dare do: and worst of all, there
is none so good to respist it: In suche a realme there shuld
be none inhabitaunte. For within shorte space the yll men

An iii shall

M A R C U S

shall be chaunged, or elles dispeopled of good men, or the goddis wyl confounde them, or the titantis shal take the. Dyuers thynges were said, the which I passe ouer at this tyme. Howe thyngest thou Antigone? I swete by the im- mortal goddis, that my hart breketh to thinke of the great shame that was layd vpon Rome by such wroting as was leste to them by the grauntfater of this kyng Boccus. This my letter I wold thou shuldest rede in secrete to the p̄retours, & if they amende not, we shall fynde the meanes to chastise them openly. And as touchyng thy banyshement I promise the to be thy good frende to the senate, that we may ioy our auncient amitie to gether. And to get the out of that ple, certainly I shall do my diltgence. I haue wri- ten to my secretary Panutius to deliuer the. ii. M. letters to releue thy pouertie: and thus I sende the my letter to comfort thy heuy hart. I say no moxe, but the goddis grie the contention of that thou woldest haue ioy, and rest o thy person. And al corporal euyls, cruel enmyes, and fatal destenies be seperate fro me Marke. For the behalfe of my wife Faustine, I salute the, and thy wyfe Russa: She is thyn, and I am thyn. With visitation of ioy I haue recei- ued thy letter, and thankefullly I send the myn. I shal not reste to desire to se thy persone in Itaþ, and there in Si- cyle to leue my feuer quattayne.

C A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the ple of Helespont, whan he dyd banyshethe the vacabun- dis fro Rome. The. xi. letter.

M arke emperour of Rome, lord of Isle, cōfederate w them of Europe, frend of them of Affrike, enmye of the Mautes: To the Lambert gouernour of the ile of Helesponte, sendethe of his parte contention and

and suretie fro the sacrate senate. I am fured with þ fur-
tes that thou hast sent me, & am clothed with thy matel, &
am right well pleased with thy greyhounds: If I hadde
thought, that thy absence fro ROME shuld haue procured
so moche fruit in that ple:longe ago I shulde haue deter-
myned as well for thy profyte as for my seruice. I sent to
the in demaundyng but small thinges in my spo:re, and
thou hast sent me many thynges in ernest. In good sothe
thou hast better proporcione thy seruice with noblenes,
than I to commaunde with my couetise. For yf thou reme-
bre, I sent to the for a doseyne skynnes of furre, and thou
hast sent me. xi. doseyne: and I dyd sende but for. vi. gree-
hounds, and thou hast sent me. xii. Truly in this case my
pleasure is double. For here in ROME thy great largesse is
publyshed, and my smal coutryse there in HELESPONTE. And
bycause I am sure thou hast great thankes of me, I pray
to god to sende the salute and helthe: And that fortune be
not denied the at a good houre. I sende the. iii. barkes of
mayster foles, & yet I haue not sent the al. For if I had ba-
nished all the foles in ROME, we shoulde haue peopled vs
with a newe people. These mayster foles haue ben so wily
to teche folys, & the ROMAYN yOUTH so apt to lerne, though
they be but in. iii. barkes, they; disciples wold lade. iii. M.
Carrakes. I haue great mercuaple of one thyng, and my
hart sciaundzeth the goddis: for I se wel that ethquakes
casteth down houses, & gret wates bereth away brydges,
frosts freseth the vines, sodein thonderynge & tempestes
breketh down toures, scarsitie of wates causeth deth, cor-
rupt airc maketh an ende of the that be wise: & yet there is
nothyng that can make an ende of these foles. All thynges
at this day fadeth at ROME, except all only these pdell
tremandes, gestours, tombiers, players, or dromslayes,
tuglers, & such other, of whom there is nowe & to many.

O what

O what a seruyce shuldest thou doo to the goddis, & what
 profyte to Rome, that for thys barker full of folcs to sende
 one lade with wylle men: One thyng I wyll say, that with
 the bones of the wylle men that ple is halowed, that ancy-
 ently were banyshed by the malycy and enuy of theym of
 Rome: if thy smellynge wyttes be not lost, as Italy syn-
 keth of them that be symple, so that ple smelleth swete of
 wylle men. whan I came fro the warres of the Parthes,
 the. iiii. yere of myne empyre, I passed into that ple by dy-
 uers sees to see the sepulchres of ancient wylle men: and
 in the cytie of Dorbite in the myddes therof, lyeth Ouidie,
 that was banyshed by August: and vnder the mountayne
 Arpines is the sepulchre of the renomed Atmeno oratour,
 banyshed by Sylla: at the poxe of Argonaut thou shalte
 fynde the bones of Colliodorus recapituler of the antyke
 lawes, that was banyshed by Nero the cruell: and in the
 felde of Elmos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Syli-
 fo Heteno that was so wel lerned in the. vii. artes liberal,
 as though he had newe founde them, he was banyshed by
 the Marians. I say for trouthe thou shalte fynde it thus,
 for with my knees I haue touched theye sepulchres. And
 all that season my tender eyes were as fulle of water, as
 theye bones were harde in the erthe. These were not ba-
 nyshed for no vilanyes that they had done: but it was the
 metyte of our forefathers, that they wolde be priuated fro
 the company of so noble barons: and we theye chyldeyns
 fro the poulder of so renowned sages. I can not tell whi-
 che is the greater, the fantasye that I haue to thyng, or
 the compasyon of myserable Rome. I do pray the as my
 frende, and commaunde the as my seruant, to regarde the
 places that I haue shewyd the. for it is a iuste thyng, and
 most iuste, that suche cyties be priuileged by them that ly-
 ueth, whan they are peopled with suche dedde wylle men.

And

Ind moxe daier, Centurion knoweth by wordes, the hevy
case, that these p^risoners had with vs, and we with them,
the daye of the feaste of mother Berecyntia. I say, I sawe
not that daye so moch cruellete in Rome, as we caused infa-
mye through all the emp^re. Rome that never was ouer-
come, by them that were valyant and vertuous, that daye
we sawe ouergone, and troden vnder foote, by those foles.
The walles of Rome, that were never touched by the ¹⁹oe-
nens, had that day their lompes ful of armed trewades:
Rome that triumphed ouer al realnes, was triu^{ph}ed v-
pon that daye, with tombles & iuglers. I am so abashed
in this case, that I wot not what to say or to write, yet one
thyng cōfōteth me, that sith Rome & the romayns vniust
ly do reioyce with these fooles: she and the famous wyse
men, iustly shalbe chastised for these foles. And in this the
goddis shall not be dyspleased, that sythe Rome laugheth
at these trewandies and mockeries, one day she shall wepe
with these tombles and iuglers. I banysshe all these fo-
uer fro Rome, not for the bloudde that they haue shedde,
but for the hartes, that they haue peruerted: not for the oc-
casyon of any that be deed, but because they were maisters
of folies. Without cōparison it is greater offence to the
goddis, and moxe damage to the comon welthe, these tre-
wandes to take away the wyttes fro the wyse folkes, than
the murtherers to take away mens lyues. If the greatest
gyste, among all gystes of fortune, be, to kepe a good wit,
let no manne presume, to be of a restfull vnderstandinge,
that is an extreme frende to these trewandes. Beleue me
one thyng. As one byde loueth an other, and one beste an
other, and one wyse man an other: so one foole loueth an
other foole.

CI rememb're, on a day, as I revolued the registers in the
Capitoll, I redde a ryght meruaylous thyng of Druetus

Do a fa-

M A R C V S

¶ famous oratour, whiche is buried in the ple of Melespot, on the mosir Adamantine, whan great Scipio came fro the warre of the Poenitens, bettet accompanied with hunger stouen trewandes, than with valiant capptaynes, he sayd to hym: Of trouthe it is great shaine to the, and a small honour to the senate, that thou, that haste overcome the wyse Affres, and beyng so wyse thy selfe, and of the blode of the wyse Romaynes, wylte be accompanied with these trewandes and fooles. In that vnhappy realme, all the wyse men coulde not overcome one, that was thought so myghty, amoung so many fooles. I say to the, that thy wyt is in more peryll here in Rome, thā thy lyfe in Affrike. ¶ These were good wordes, and not of no woldely malice. And within a shorte while after, and by dyuers lyght persons, and for a smal occasyon, this poore olde oratour, and ryche philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was banished Rome, and sent into that ple.

¶ Than behold Lambert, let vs returne to these iuglers and trewades. Whan they are landed in that ple, let them go frank & fre, so that they vse not theyr accustomed toys. Thou shalt constraine them to iabour, and chastyse them yf they be ydell. For these miserable folke, sleinge fro iuste trauayle, take on them vniust ydelnes, & conuerte mo men with theyr trewandyse, than if open scooles of bacabondes were kepte. There is nothyng that our forefaders did that displeaseth me so moche, as the sufferaunce of these vnrhyfyt trewandes.

¶ In the yere. Cxxvi. of the foundation of Rome, in the tyme of an horryble pestilence in Italy, to rejoyce the people, was fyrt found out the inuention of Theatres, by the aduise of the trewandes. It is a shamefull thyng to here, that the pestilence duryd but two yeres, and the rage of these vnrhyfyttes, dureth. iiiij. yeres.

Lam.

Clambert, I beliue well, that the complayners, that these prisoners haue begon here, shall never haue an ende ther. Now be it, I care not: for the grudge of them, that be yll, iustifieth the iustyce and sentence of them, that be good. As the mayster of Aero sayde: As moche as the shame of synne ought to be fledde of them, that be good, so moche prayse, is the infamye of the yll. I shall telle the one thyng, to the intent, that the chastyment shulde not seeme cruell to the. Seyng the emperours of Rome are ful of clemency to straungers, it is no reason, that they shuld be so sharpe to theyr owne. Bythe fatall destynes hath brough me into this wold, I haue sene no thyng more vnyroystable to the common welthe, nor greater folye in them, that be lyght of condicions, nor a worse inuention for bacabudes, nor a moche cold reuocation of mortall folke tha to let me of these gammers & trifelers, & such other iuglers. What thing is moche monstros, tha to se wise men rewycce at the passyng of these batne trifelers: what greater mockery can be in the capitoll, tha the folysch sayenge of a gestour, to be praysed, w great laughter of wise men: what greater sclaunders can be to princis houses, than to haue their gates alwayes open to receive in these folcs, and never open to wyse folkes: what gretter cruelty can there be in any person, than to giue moche in one day to a folc, tha to his seruantes in a yere, or to his kin, al his life: what gretter inconstancie can there be, than to want men to furnysh the gatisons and frōtiers of Illerico, and these trewādes to abide at Rome: what like shame can there be to Rome, than þ the memory shalbe left moche in Italy, of these towblers, trewādes, pypers, singers of gestes, tabouters, crudets, dcāters, moners, gesters, & iuglers, than the renome of capitains, with their triuphes & armes. And whan these capitaines wād;ed al about in Rome in sauctie, sownig their

Do ii lewdes

lewdenes, and gedyng of money: the noble barons and capitaynes, went fro realme to realme, wasting their money, aduenturyng theyr lyues, and shedyng theyr blode.

CIn the vttermost parte of Spayne, whanne warre began betwene the Liberiens and Goditaynes, and they of Liberie laked money: Two iuglers and labourers, offred to maynteyne the warre a hole yere. And it folowed, that with the goodes of two fooles, many wise men were slaine and ouercome.

CIn Ephese, a citie of Asie, the famous temple of Diana was edified with the confiscaciō of the goodes, of such a trewande and sole,

CWhan Cadmus edified the citie of Thebes in Egipte, with i. gates, the mynstrelles gaue hym more towarde it, than all his frendes.

CIf the hystorie be trew, whan August edified the walles of Rome, he hadde more of the trewandes, that were drowned in Tybre, then of the common treasourie.

CThe firste kyng of Corinth arose by suche villaynes, I sawe his sepulchre at Corinthie. And as I saye of these final nob̄e, I myght say of many other. Behold than L̄bert, howe littell care the goddis take, and howe variable the case of fortune is, and how the dedes of men fal. So on be had in memori for theyr folys, and some for theyr wyls done. One thyng is come to my mynde, of the chaunce of these trewandes, and that is: whyle they be in p̄fesse, they make every man to laugh at the folys, that they do and say: and whan they be gone, every man is sorri for his money, that they bare away. And of certeine, it is a custome sentence of the goddis, that such as haue taken bayn plesure togyther, whan they are departed, to wepe for theyr losses. I wyl wryte noo more vnto the: but I do sende the thys letter in Greeke, to the entent that thou shewalt ouer all

all the ple. sende forthe with the shpppes agayne, for
they muste be sent forthe with provisions into Illyria.
Peace be with the Lamberte, helche and good fortune be
with me Mare. The senate saluteth the. And thou on my
behalfe, shalte shewe to the Ile, the ioyfull happy custo-
mes. My wyfe fauline saluteth the, and sendeth a ryche
gyrdell to thy daughter. And in recompence of the fures
I sende the ryche se welles.

A letter sent by Marc thempcour to Catulus his
speciall frende, of the noueltis of Rome.

The xiiij. letter.



Iccus the newe Cēsare, to the Catulus
the olde Cēsare. It is. x. dayes past,
that in the temple of god Janus, I re-
cepued thy letter: and I take the same
god to wytnesse, that I had rather haue
ene thy personne. Thou myteste, howe
my wrytynge is longe, but the shorthenesse
of tymme maketh me to aunswere the more brefly, farre a-
waye more thanne I wolde. Thou desirtest me to gyue the
knowlege of the newes here. Thereto I aunswere, that it
were better to demaunde, if there be any thynge abyden
here in Rome or Itali, that is olde. For nowe by our heuy
destentes, all that is good and did is ended, and newe thin-
ges, that be yll and detestable, we may se dayly. The impe-
cour, the Consule, the Tribune, the Senatours, the E-
dules, the flauernes, the adiutours, the Centurions, all
these thinges, be newe, but the vilaines, that ben olde, & al
passeith to make newe offices, and to ordynre statutes and
pactykes, to come to the counciles, and to reysse vp sub-
sidies. In such wyse, þt there hath ben nowe mo nouelties

Do iii within

M A R C V S

within these. llii. yeres, than in tyme passed in. llii. C. yeres
we nowe assemble together a. vii. C. to counsell in the ca-
pitoll, and there we blason and boste, swete and promise,
that some of vs maye subdue and put vnder other, to fa-
uour one, and distroye an other, other to chastysse the yll, &
rewarde the good: To repayre olde, and edifie newe: To
plucke vices vp by the rootes, and to plante vertues: to
amende the olde, and folowe the good: to reproue tyraun-
tes, and assisse the poore: and wherene that we are goone
from thens, they that speake beste wordes, are often taken
with the wroght dedes. O heuy ROME, that nowe abayes
hath suche Senatours, that in sapeng, we shal do, we shal
do, passeth they; lyfe: and than euery man, sekynge for his
owne profyte, forgetteth the comon welthe. Oftentymes
I am in the Senate, to beholde other, as they regard me:
and I am abashed, to here the eloquence of they; wordes,
the zeale of iustice, and the iustification of they; persones:
and after that I come thens, I am ashamed, to se their se-
crete extorciions, they; damnable thoughtes, and they; yll
werkes, so playnely manifeste. And yet there is an other
thyng of more metuaple, and not to be suffred that suche
personnes, as are mooste defamed, and vse mooste bysho-
nest vices, w^t they; most damnable intentiōs, make they;
auowes to do mooste cruell iustice. It is an ineffable rule,
and of humayn malycē mooste vsed, that he that is mooste
hardy, to committe greatest crimes, is mooste cruel, to gyue
sentence agaynst an other for the same offence. We thinkē
that we regard our owne crymes, as throughē small net-
tes, that causeth thinges to seeme the lesser. And we reme-
b̄e the fautes of other, in the water, that causeth thynges
to seeme greater than they be. O howe many haue I seuen
condēned to be hanged by the senate, for one smal faute,
done in all the lyfe, and yet they commyntte the same faute
euery

every houerte.

Chaue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renowned pycate or a rouer on the see, whiche robbed and dwlowned all shypes, that he coulde gette: and by commaundement of this good kyng Alexander, ther was an army sent forth to take hym. And whan he was taken, and presented to Alexander, the kyng sayd to hym: Shewe me Dionides, why doest thou kepe the see in daunger, that no shyp can sayle out of the east into the west, for the. The pycate answered, and sayde: If I kepe the se in daunger, why doest thou Alexander, kepe all the see and lande as losse? O Alexander, bycause I fyghte with one shyppe in the see. I am callyd a theefe, and bycause thou robbest with ii. C. shypes on the see, and troublest all the wold with two. C. thousande menne, thou art called an emperour. I swere to the Alexander, yf fortune were as favourable to me, and the goddis as extreme ageynst the: they wolde gyue me thyne empire, and gyue the my lyttell shyppe, and than peraduenture, I shulde be a better kyng than thou arte, and thou a worse thefe than I am.

Chese were high wordes, and well receyued of Alexander: and of trouth, to se yf his wordes were corespondent to his promyses, he made hym from a pycate to a great captyayne of an army: and he was more vertuous on land, than he was cruell on the see.

CI promyse the Catulus, Alexander dyd ryght wel ther in, and Dionides was to be praysed gretly, so; that he had sayd. Now adays in Italy, they that robbe openly, are cal led lordes: and they that robbe pryuily, are called theues.

CIn the pere booke of Linius, I haue redde, that in the seconde troublous warte pumpe, betwene the Rounaynes and Cartaginewys, ther camme an ambassadoure Lusptayne, sent fro Syrpayne, to treate for accorde of peace.

an hau

Whan he came to Rome, he proued before th. Senate, that syth he entred into Italye, he had ben. x. tymes robbed of his goodes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had sene one of them that robbed hym, hange vp an other, that had defended hym. He seinge so ylle a dede, and howe the thefe was saued without iustice, as a desperate manne, toke a cole, and wrote on the gybet as foloweth.

O gybet thou art made among theues, no[n]ished amog theues, cut of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set amonge theues, and thou art peopled with innocentis. **A**nd there as I red these wordes, was in the original of Liuius, and in his histories. I swere to the by the immortall goddis, that all the Decade was written with blacke ynke, and these wordes with redde vermyyon. I can not tell, what wordes I shulde sende the, but that euery thing is so newe and so tender, and is ioyned with so yll sciment, that I feare me, all wyll fall sodaynly to the playne erthe. I tell the, that some are sodaynly rySEN within Rome vnto valour, to whom I wyll rather assure their fall, than their lyfe. For all buyldynge hastely made, can not be sure. The longer a tree is kepte in his kynde, the longer it wyll be et it be olde. The trees, whose sturyte we eate in sommer, doo warne vs in wynter. O howe many haue we sene, wherof we haue meruayled of they, tylsyng, and ben abashed of their falles. They haue growen as a hole piece, and so deynly wasted as a scomme. Their felicitie hath ben but a shorte point, & their infortune as a long lyfe. Finally they haue attayned the myll, & armid it with stones of entace, and after a lyttel grinding, leste it in bytyle al the hole yere after. Thon knowest wel, my friend Catulus, that we haue sene Cincius Fulvius in one yere made consule, and his chyldren tribunes, and his wyfe a matron for yonge maydens, and besyde that, made keper of the capitol, and after that

that not in one yere but the same day we saw Cincius beheaded in the place, his chylde rouned in Tybre, his wyfe banysched fro Rome, his house rased downe to the grounde, and all his good confysched to the commonon treasourie. This rigoorous example we haue not redde in any boke to take a copie of it, but we haue sene it with our eies to kepe it in our myndes. As the nations of people ar variable, so are the condicions of men dyuers, and appetites of mortall folke: and me thynketh this is true, seyng that some loue, some hate, and that that some seke, some escheweth: And that that some setteth lyttell by, other make of. In such wise that al can not be content with one thyng, nor some with all thinges can not be satisfyed. Let euery man chuse as hym lyste, and embrace the worlde whan he wylle, I had rather mount a softe pace to the fallynge, and yf I can not come therto. I wyl abyde by the way, rather than with sweatte to mount hastily, and than to tumble downe heedlyng. In this case sith mens hartes vnderstand it, we nede not to wryte further with pennes. And of this matter regarde not the lyttell that I do saye, but the great deale that I wyl say. And sith I haue begon, and art in strange landes, I wyl wryte the all the newes fro hens. This yere the xxv. day of May, there came an ambassadour out of Asie, sayenge he was of the yle of Cetyn, a barone ryghte elegant of body, ruddy of aspect, and right hardy of courage. He considered beyng at Rome, though the sommers dayes were longe, yet wynter wolde drawe on, and than wolde it be daungerous saylynge into his yle: and sawe that his besynes was not dispatched: On a daye beyng at the gate of the senate, seyng all the Senatours entre in to the Capitolle, without any armour vpon them, he as a man of good spynce, and zelatour of his countreye, in the presence of vs all, sayd these wordes: .

M A R C V S

CO fathur conscripte, O happy people, I am come fro
a straunge countreye to Rome, onely to see Rome, and I
haue founde Rome without Rome: The walles wher-
with it is inclosed, hath not broughte me hyther, but the
fame of them that governe it. I am not come to se the tre-
sourye, wherin is the treasure of all realmes: but I am
come to se the sacred senate, out of the whiche issueth the
counsell for al men. I came not to see you, because ye van-
quishe all other, but bycause I thoughte you more vertu-
ouse than all other. I dare well saye one thyng, except the
goddis make me blynd, and trouble myn understandyng,
ye be not romayns of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the
romayns your predecessours. We haue harde in our yle,
that dyuers realmes been wonne by the balyantes of one,
and conserued by the wylde of all the senate: and at
this houre ye are more lyke to be dystroyed, than to wynne
as your fathers dydde: all theyr exercys was in goodnes,
and ye that are theyr chyldyn, passe all your tyme in cery-
monies. I saye this ye Romayns, bycause ye haue almost
kylde me with laughinge at you, to see howe ye doo all as
moche your diligence to leaue your armure withoute the
gate of the senate, as your predecessours dyd to take them
to defende the empire. What profyte is it to you to leaue
your armes for the suretyes of your personnes, and putte
them on, wherwith ye flee all the worlde? What profyteth
it to the thoughtfull suyter, that the senatour entreth un-
armed into the senate without swerde or dagger: and his
harte entreth in to the senate arm'd with malycie? O Ro-
maynes, I wyl ye knowe, that in our yle we holde you not
as arm'd Captyayns, but as malicious senatours: not w
sharpe grounden swerdes & daggers, but with harde har-
tes and venomous tonges ye feare vs. If ye shuld in the
senate put on harnes, & therwith take away your lyues, it
were

were but a small losse, seyng that ye susteyn not the iuno-
centes, nor dispatche not the busynesses of suters. I canne
not suffre it. I can not telle in what state ye stande here at
Rome: for in our yle we take armour from foles, whether
your armours are take awaye as fro foles or madde fol-
kes, I wote not. If it be done for ambitiousnes, it cometh
not of Romayns, but of tyranteres, that manglers and ire-
full folke shuld not be iuges ouer the peisible, & the ambi-
tious ouer the meke, & the malicious ouer the symple. If
it be done because ye be folys, it is not in the law of the god-
dis, that. iii. C. foles shulde governe. iii. C. M. wise men.
It is a longe season that I haue taried for myn aunswere
and licence, and by your madnes I am now farder of, tha
I was the fyfth day. We brynginge oyle, hony, saffron, wood,
and tymbre, salt, syluer, and gold out of our yle into Rome
ano ye wyl that we go elles where to seke iustyce. ye wyll
haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and an other to de-
termyne our iustyces. ye wyll that we pay our trybutes in
one day, and ye wyll not dyscharge one of our errandes in
a hole yere. I requyre you Romayns determine your sel-
fes to take away our lyues, and so we shal ende: or els here
our complayntes, to thentent that we may serue you. For
in an other maner it may be than ye knowe by heryng with
your eares, which peraduenture ye wolde not se with your
eien. And if ye thynke my wordes be out of mesure: so that
ye wyll remedy my contrey, I set not by my lyfe. And thus
I make an ende. Verily friend Catulo these be the wordes,
that he spake to the senate, which I gat in wrytinge. I say
of trouth, that the hardines, that the Romayns were wot
to haue in other countres, the same as nowe straungers
haue in Rome. There were that sayde, that this ambassa-
dour shoulde be chastyed, but the goddis forbyd: that for
sayenge trouth in my presence, he shulde haue ben correct.

¶p ii It is

It is ynough and to moch to, to suffre these euyls, though
 we see no; persecute those that aduertysse and warne vs
 of them. The shewe ar not in surerie of the wolfe, but if the
 shewarde haue his dogge with him. I mene, dogges ought
 not to leane barkynge for to awake the shewardes. There
 is no god commaundeth, no; lawe counsayleth, no; com-
 mon welthe suffred, that they whiche are commynted to
 chastyse lyers, shulde hang them that say trouthe. And sith
 the senatours shewe them selfe men in they; lyuyng, and
 somtyme more humayne than other that be slaves, who
 elles shulde delþuer them fro chastylement? O Rome and
 no Rome, haþyng noþyng but the name of Rome, where
 is now become the noblenes of thy tryumphes, the glorie
 of thy chyldren, the rectitude of thy Justyce, and the ho-
 nour of thy temples? for as nowe they chastyse hym more
 that murmureth agayuste one onely senatour, than they
 do them that blasphemie al the goddis at ones. For it gre-
 ueth me more to se a Senatour or censure to be worse of
 all other, than it displeaseth me, that it shuld be sayde, that
 he is the best of all other. For a trouthe I saye to the my
 frende Catulus, that as nowe we nede not to seke to the
 goddes in the temples, for the Senatours are made god-
 dis in our handes. This is the difference betwene theym
 that ben immortall, and they that be mortall. For the god-
 dis never do thynge that is yll, and the Senatours doo
 never good thynge: the goddes never lye, and they never
 say trouthe: the goddes pardon often, and they never for-
 gyue: the goddes are content to be honoured. v. tymes in
 the yere, and the Senatours wolde be honoured. x. tymes
 a day. What wylt thou that I shuld saye more: but what
 so euer the goddes do, they oughte to be praysed: and the
 senatours in all they; workes deserue to be reprooued. Fy-
 nally I conclude, that the goddis assy;me and assy;me reue-

ynge, and they erre and sayle in nothyng: and the
senatours assure nothyng, but erre in all thynges: onely
for one thyng the senatours are not of reason to be cha-
styed: and that is, whan they intende not to amende they-
fautes, they wylle not suffre the oratours to waste they-
tyme to shewe them the trouth. Be it as maye be, I am of
the opinion, that what man or woman, withdraweth they-
cares fro herynge of trouth, impossyble it is for them to ap-
plye they- hertes to loue any vertues: Be it censure that
ingeth, or senatour that ordeyneth, or emperour that com-
maundeth, or consule that executethe, or oratour that pre-
cheth. No mortall man, take he never so good hede to his
werkes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he de-
serueth some chastytement for some cause or counsayle in
his doynges. And sith I haue written to the thus of other
I wyll somwhat speake of my selfe, bycause of the wordes
of thy letter. I haue gathered, that thou desyrest to knowe
of my personne. Knowe thou for certayne, that in the ka-
lendes of Januarye I was made censure in the senate, the
whiche offyce I despred not, nor I haue not deserued it.
The opinion of all wyse men is, that noo manne, without
he lacke wytte, or surmounteth in foly, wyll gladdely take
on hym the burden and charges of other menne. A great-
ter case it is for a shamefaul man to take on hym an office
to please euery man, for he muste shewe a countenaunce
outwarde, contrarye to that he thynketh inwarde. Thou
wylte saye, that the good are ordeyned to take the charge
of offices. O vnhappye Rome, that hathe wylled to take
me in suche wyse, as to be the besle in it. Greuous pesty-
lence ought to come for them that be good, syth I am sca-
ped as good amonge the yll. I haue accepted this office,
not for that I had any nede therof, but to satysfy the de-
sires of my wyfe Faustine, and to fulfull the commaunde-

ment of Anthonus my gtauntsfather. Haue no metuaple
 of any thyng that I do, but of that I leaue to be doone.
 For any man that is wedded to faustyne, there is no by-
 lany but he shall do it. I swete to the, that syth the day we
 were wedded, me semeth that I haue no wytte. I leaue
 weddyngs for this tyne, and retourne to speake of offices.
 Surely a peisable man ought to be in offices, though he
 be paynefull: for as the offices are assuted amounghe them
 that be vertuous, so perillously goeth the vertuous folke
 amounghe offices. And for the trouthe hereof recken what
 they wyrke, and than thou shalt se what they lose. Saye
 that is good, yf thou knowest it, and here the yll, yf thou de-
 syre to knowe it. He that wyll take the charge to gouerne
 other, he seketh thought and trouble for hym selfe, enuye
 for his neyghbours, spouttes for his ennemys, pouertye
 for his ryches, awakynge of theues, peryll for his bodye, an
 ende of his dayes, and tourment for his good renowme.
 Finally he seketh awaie to reiecte his frenedes, and a re-
 peale to recouer his ennemis. O an vnhappy man is he,
 that taketh on hym the charge of chyldren of manye mo-
 thers, for he shalbe alwayes charged with thoughtes, how
 he shulde content them all: full of sygnes bycase one hath
 to gyue hym: feare that one shulde take fro hym, wepyng
 if he lese, and suspicion that they infame hym. He that
 knoweth this, without longe tarynge ought to sette a by-
 dell at his heed. But I saye of one, as I saye of an other.
 For I wyll swete, and thou wylt not denye it, that we may
 finde some now adays, that had rather be in the parke to
 fight ayenst the bulles, thā be in suertie upon the scaffold.
 Oftentymes I haue hard saye: Go we to the Theatres to
 tenne at the bulles: go we to chase the hartes and wylde
 boores: and whā they come there, they renne away, not the
 bestes fro them, but they fro the beastes. In suche wyse as
 they

they went runnyng, they returme agayn fleing. I say these
ambicious persones procure to gouerne: & are gouerned:
they commaund, and are commaunded, they rule and are
ruled: and finally thinkyng to haue dpuers vnder they
bandes, these wretches put them selues vnder euery mas
sote. For the remedy of all these perylles my thoughte is
comforstid with one thing, and that is without procurynge
or offeryng my selfe, the senate of theyr owne wylle hathe
commaunded me. In the. viii. table of our ancyent lawes
be these wordes. We commaund that in our sacred senate
charge of iustyce be neuer giuen to hym that willyngly of-
fretth hym selfe to it, but to such as by typle deliberation be
chosen. This is certaynly a iuste lawe. For men no we be
not so vertuouse nor so louyng to the comon welth, þ they
wyl forȝet their owne quietnes and rest, doyng domage to
them selfe, to pcute an other mans profyte. There is none
so folyshe, that wyl leue his wife, childre, & his owne swete
countrey, to go into strange countreis, but yf he se hym selfe
amonge strange people, thinkyng vnder the colour of iu-
stice to seke for his own utiltie. I say not this without we-
punge, that the princiis with theyr small study & thought, &
the iuges with their couetyse, haue vndermyned & shaken
down the hygh walles of the policie of Rome. O my freud
Catulus, what wyl thou that I shulde saye, but that our
credēce so minisheth, our couetise so largely stretcheth, our
hardines so boldeth, our shamfastnes so shameles, that we
prouide for iuges to go & rokke our neyghbours as capi-
tayns apenſt our ennemis. I lette the to wyte, wherē as
Rome was beloued for chastisynge the pl, now it is as mo-
che hated for dispoylyng of innocentes. I do remember, þ
I red, in the tyme of Denis & Pyracusan, that ruled al Sicile,
there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, be-
inge of a good age, welle lerned, and balyaunt in armes,
and

M A R C V S.

and ryght curyouse to regarde every thyng. He came to Rome to se the maiestie of the sacred senate: the height of the high capitoll enuironned with the Collis: the multy tude of senatours: the wysdome of the counsaylours, the glorie of triumphes: the correction of the pli, the peace of the inhabitauntes, the dyuersitie of nations: the habou-
dance of the mayntenaunce, the order of the offyces, and
finally seynge that Rome was Rome, he was demaunded
howe he seemed therby: He answered and sayde, O Rome
in this thy present wylde, thou arte fulle of vertues and
wyse men, hereafter thou shalt be furnished with soles. Lo
what hygh and very high wordes were these: Rome was
vi. C. yeres without nycetie of houses of soles, and nowe
it hath ben. iii. C. yeres without one wylc oþ vertuouse.
Loke what I say, it is no mockery, but of trouth, yf the
pitiefull goddis now adayes dyd reysse our p̄edecessours
fro dethe to lyfe, eyther they wolde not knowe vs for their
chyldeyne, oþ elles attache vs for fooles. These be thinges
vsed in Rome, but thou sendest noo worte of that is vsed
in Agrippine. I wyll wryte nothynge to the, to put the to
peyne: wryte to me some thyng to reioyce me, yf thy wyfe
Dynsilla chanced well of the flote that came out of Cetin
with salte, oyle, and honye, I caused hit to be well prouy-
ded for her. Wytte thou, that Flodius our vncle was caste
downe by rage of his hōse, and is decessed. Laertia and
Collodius are frendes togyther, by occasyon of a mary-
age. I do sende the a gowne, I pray to the goddis to sende
the toy therof. My wyfe Faustin saluteth the. Recomende
me to Jamyȝo thy sonne. The goddis haue the in kepyng
and contrary fortune be fro me. Marcus thy frend to the
Catulus his owne.

3 letter

Chapter sent by Marke the emperour to the am-
bassaylantes of Rome, bycause they made
a playe of hym. The riue letter.



Marke oratour lerning at Rhodes the art
of humanite, to you amorous ladyes of
Rome salutation to your persones, and
amendement of your desyred lyfe. It is
wyitten to me, that at the feast of the mo-
ther of the goddes Berecynthia, al ye to
gyther there present played, & gesid on
me: wherin ye layd fo; an example my lyfe & my renoume.
It is shewed me, þ Julia composed it, Lucia fulua wrote
it, & thy selfe Toringula dyd singe it, & ye all togyther dyd
presente it to the Theatre: ye haue portayed & painted me
in dyuers maners, wþ a boke in my hande, courted contrary
as a fayned philosopher: with a tonge alone, as a belde
speaker without measure: with a boone on my heed, a com-
mone cuckold: with a nettell in my hande, as a trembyng
louer: with a baner fallen downe, as a cowarde capitayn:
with halfe a herde, as a feminate man: with a clothe afore
myne eyes, as a condemnedbacabound: and yet not con-
tent with this, but the other daye ye portayed me in a new
maner, ye made my sygurc with fete of straie, my legges
of ambre, my knees of wod, the thyghes of brasie, the be-
lye of boone, the armes of pytche, the handes of mace, the
heed of yesso, the rates of susse, the eyis of a serpente,
the heares as totes iagged, the tethe of a catt, the tonge
of a scorpion, and the bochec of leade: wherin was wy-
ten in two lynes these letters, M, N, T, N, I, S, V, S, the whi-
ch menente (as I do take it) The mortall man taketh not
the state so strange as the fowblenes of the lyfe: & shal
ye wente to the ryuer, and therin tyed his heed downwarde

Mq

a hole

a hole day. And yf the lady **M**ellalyn had not ben, I think
 it had ben tyed there till nowe. And nowe pe amorous la-
 dyes haue wrytten to me a letter by **F**ulvius **F**abritius,
 wherof I received no peyn, but as an amorous man, from
 the handes of ladies I take it as a mocketie. And to then-
 tente that I shulde haue no tyme so to thynke theron, ye
 sende to wryte a question of me, that is : yf I haue founde
 in my wrytynge, wherof, by whom, where, whan, what,
 and howe the fyfte wemen were made. And bycause my
 complexion is to take mockes so to mockynges, and syth ye
 demaunde it, I shall shewe it : you and your frendes and
 myne, and specially **F**ulvius your messager hath desyred
 me thereto. There is nothynge wherof I complayne, but I
 wyll holde my peace, saue to your letter and demaunde I
 wyll answer. And syth there hath ben none so to aske the
 question, I protest that to none other, but to you amorous
 wemen of Rome, I sende myn answer. And yf any other
 honest lady wyll take the demaunde of you, it is a token
 that she hath enuy of the offyce that ye be of. Certaynly yf
 any lady sheweth her selfe annoyed with your peyn open-
 ly, fro hens for the I condempue her, that she kepe no faute
 that she knoweth in secret. They that be on the stage, feare
 not the roynge of the bulle : and he that is in a dungeon,
 feareth not the shotte of artillerie. I wyll say, a woman of
 good lyfe feareth no man with an yll tongue. The good
Matrones may kepe me so to theyr perpetuall seruant, and
 ther that be yll to their chiese ennemie. Now to answere
 the quessyon, to knowe wherof the fyfte wemen were made
 I say that accordyng to the dyuersitie of nations, that be
 in the wold, dyuers opinions I spide in this case. 1730
 The Egypciens say, that whan the flood of **A**yle caue
 abrode, and watred the erthe, therbe abode certayne pieces
 of erthe cleyninge to gether lyke goates, and thynne the
 heate

heaste comynnge in them created many wylde beastes: and
 so amonge them was founde the fyfte woman. Note ye
 ladies, that it was necessarie, that the fledge of Aples shuld
 floume ouer his brymmes, that the fyfte woman myght be
 made on the erthe. All creatures are brydde in the entra-
 les of they3 moothers, excepte the woman that was brydde
 without a mother. And this semeth true, that without mo-
 thers ye were borne, bycause without this ye loue, a myt-
 tis cut out of yrete. Wchylp be putteh hym selfe to many tra-
 mayles, and hath many myles to fonde, and many times to
 thynke, and so aske many succours, and so abyde many
 petes, and to chuse amonge many women, that wyl rule
 one onely wyfe by reason. Be the beastes never so cruel-
 and fierce, at the laste the lyon is leode of his reper with-
 out any bands: The bull is closed in the park: the bry-
 dell ruleth the house, a lytell hooke catcheth the fyfe, and
 the wolfe suffreth to be tyed: onely a woman is a beast un-
 able to be tamed, & never leseth her boldnes for any thyng
 that is commaunded her, nor the brydell, for not bryng com-
 aunded. The goddis haue made men as men, and beestis
 as beastis, and the brymayne buderl an dyrnge very highe,
 and his strength of a great power: but yet is there no man,
 be he never so highe, that shal scape the woman lightly, nor
 defende hym be he never so stronge. But I say to you, my
 ladies: There is no spynnes that can make you goo, nor
 capnes that can holde you, nor brydelle that can defayne
 you, nor angle or met that can take you: and swally there
 is no lass comfudim pom, nor Dame rehain you, nor feare
 abafre you, nor chaungemente amende you. O to what
 an yit a wench shal be hym selfe, that shal make the
 erthe and conterfe you. For as ye take my opinion in hande,
 all the wodwile shall set downe you, for wchylc of a man tellis
 of soone yore of any thynges, he wyl never beleue hym:
¶ q. u. 36

If one gyue you good counsell, ye wyl not take it: þe onte
 threten you, anone ye complayne: þe onte flatter you, thā
 ye ware proude: if one reioice not in you, ye are spirefull:
 þe onte forþeate you, it maketh you bolde: þe þe be chastis-
 sed, ye tourne to serpentes: fynally a woman wyl never
 forgyue any iniurie, nor gyue thanke for any good dede.
 Howe adayes the mooste synple of all women, I sweate,
 wyl I sweate, that she knoweth lessē than she doeth: and of
 trouthe the mooste wyllest men wytte shall fayle in their
 reasons: and yet the wyllest of them swarueth fro me all
 wylisme. Wyll ye knowe my ladyes, how lytle ye knowe
 and howe moche ye be ignorant: That is, ye determinye
 sodenly in hardc thynges of grauitie, as if ye had studied
 for it a M yeres: and if any gaynesaye you, ye take hym
 as a mortall enyme. Hardy is that woman, that dare gyue
 counsell to a man, but he is more hardyer that taketh it of
 a woman. But I say he is a foile that taketh it, & he more
 foole that alþeþ it, and he is moche more folyshe that ful-
 fyllereth it. Myn opinion is, that he þ wyl not falle among
 so many stunes, nor pryke hym among so many thornes,
 nor blyster hym amonge so many nettyls, lette hym heare
 what I wyl say, and doo as ye shall see: speake welle and
 worke wyl: In promysing promyse moche, In fulfyllinge
 fulfyll noþyng, and fynally allowe your wordes, and
 condempne your counselles. If one shalde demand now
 adayes of dretts ryghte benoumed persones, that benne
 deed, howe they dydde with the counselle of women when
 they lyued: I am surt they wold not haue synþ than to be
 leue them, nor at this houre to be remyued agayne to here
 them. How was kyng þPhilip of Macedon with Olympias:
 Davys with Cleopatra: Alexander with Roxane: Cæ-
 neas with Dido: Hercules with Dejanira: Ganyball
 with Champæna: Nero with Agrippina: and þe wyl not
 belieue

believe what they fasshed with them, demaide of me howe
I do amonoge other. O ye women, I remembryng that I
am borne of one of you, abhoyte my lyfe: and I, thinkyng
that I lyue with you, despyre deathe. For there is none o-
ther deathe as to treate with you, and no better lyfe than
to flee fro you. It is a common sayenge amonoge women,
that we men be unlynde, bycause we beynge borne in your
entraples, do entreat you as bondwomen and seruantes:
and ye say, syth ye bett vs with pectyll, and noucysshe vs
with trauayle, that it were conuenient and iust that we al-
wayes shuld be occupied in your seruices. Oftentymes I
have studayd, why men despyre women so moche. There is
no eyes, but they oughte to wepe, no harte but it shoulde
breake, no spirite but it shulde be sorowfull to se a wise man
lost by a foolyshe woman. The foolyshe louer passeth the
day to satisfye his syghts, the darke nyght to tomble with
dayne thoughtes: one day hetyng tydynge, an other day
he offereth service: one tyme louynge dackenes, an other
tyme he hateth lyght: he dyeth with company, and syueth
solitarie: and finally the poore foolyshe louer maye that he
wyll not, and wylleth that he may not. More ouer the cou-
sell of his frendes profyteth hym not, nor the shaine of his
enimes, nor losse of his goodes, nor the aduenture of ho-
nour, nor losyng of his lyfe, nor selbyng of deathe, nor
comynghe here, nor goynge ferre, nor seynghe with eyes, nor
heynge with ears, nor tallynghe with mouthe, nor pet fee-
lynghe of hande: and finally to attayne hys lyfe, he hathe
alway warre agayst hym selfe. I wylde these louers knew
from whens loue procedeth, it is this. The entraples that
we are bydde in, is of fleshe: the byastes that we sucke, are
of fleshe: the armeis that we are nourisched in, be of fleshe:
the dedes that we doo, are of the fleshe, by the whiche oc-
cupyng comonly we cepled & ourfleid to cheyn fleshe.

Many

Many free hantes falle into the snares of loue. It semeth
well my ladies, that ye are brought vp in puddels, as the
Egypties say: The puddels kepe no clere water to drynke,
noȝ fruite to eate, noȝ fyfhe to be taken, noȝ vessell to sayle
with: I do say ye are fowle in your lyuyng, shamefull in
your persons, in aduersytie feble and lethy, in prosperitie
subtyll and wylly: false in wordes, doubtfull in your wer-
kes: In hatynge ye kepe a dyforder, extreme to loue, aua-
racious to gyue, unshamefafe to take: and I saye ye are a
receypte of feare, wher as wyse men fynde perill, and sum-
plamen suffre. In you wise men holde their venomes dis-
allowed, and the syngle men theyȝ lyfe in penury.

Let vs leue the opynions of the Egyptiens, and come
to the Grekes, whiche say, that in the desertes of Arabye
the sonne shyneth mosie hote: and they sag, that at the be-
gynnyng there appered a woman alone with a byrde cal-
led Phenix, the whiche byrde they saye, was created of the
water, and the woman of the great heate of the sonne, and
of the corruption of the powdrie that falleth fro the trees,
whiche the wormes do eate. In this wylle there was a tree
soore eaten with wormes, and it chaunced by heate of the
sonne, and dryth of the powder, that a fyre kendled, and
soo brente it: and than of the fyre and powder of the sayd
brent tree, the fyfhe woman was made. And though I be
a philosoper Greke, I wyll not saye, that the opinion
of the philosoper greke was yll. For of trouthe ladies
that be amorous, haue your tonges of the nature of fyre,
a your condicions of the rottennes of the powder of wood.
After y diversite of beestes, nature hath put some strenght
in dyuers parts of theyȝ bodies, as the egle in the heade,
the unicorne in the boone, the serpent in the armes, the bull
in the heede, the beare in the armes, the boar in the boone, the
dogge in the tethe, the hogge in the grymnes, the wod boar

in her wyring, and women in their tonges. Of trouthe the syght of the wood dove is not so hyghe as the fantasie of your folys, nor the cattē scratcheth not so soore with her naples, as ye scratche soles with your importunitie: nor the dogge hurteth not them, that he reuerteth, as ye doo the soodwfull louer that seruerthe you: nor he is not in soo greate peryll of his lyfe that catcheth the bulle by the hornes, as the good fame of the louer is that falleth into your handes. And finally the serpent hath not so moch poysone in his tapple, as ye haue in your tongues. Yet all the good Romayne lappes apart, for there be many, of whome there is no complaynte of their persones, nor suspicion of their good names. Of all suche my letter speaketh not, nor my perine witteth not of them, but of other: I speake of women that be suche, that all venemous beastes haue not so moch poysen in theyr bodies, as they haue in theyr tonges. And syth that the goddis haue commaunded, and our deffenes do perempt, that the lyfe of men can not passe without women: therfore I aduertise these yonge people, and pray them that be olde, and awake wyse men, and tech the symple, to flee away from women of yll name, rather than from a comon pestilence.

CRedyng the auncient lawes of Plato, I synde witten thus: we comand y al women openly infamed, be openly put out of the citie, to thentē that other seyng their synnes not unpunished, may abhore the sinne so; feare to fal into the same peyne. Also the same lawe sayth: doore command, that pardon be gyuen to a woman of all the fautes committē by her owne body, if any amendment be sene in her: but never to pardon theym that haue commyttē synne with their tonges. For commyttēng synne with an yll persone, is of fragilitie, but with the tonges of pure malice.

CObtine Plato, makē a measure of al understanding, and

and prince of all philosophers, whanne thou madest that lawe in the golden world, that there was never such a citie of all women, and so great abundance of good women in Grece. What shall we doo nowe in ROME, where there be so many ylle openly, and so fewe good in secret? Naturally they were wont to be shamefaste in thesp; by-sages, temperate in wordes, wylle of wyt, sober in goynge meke in conuersation, pitifull in correction, well regardinge they; lyuyng, not keppynge compaynes, fedaſt in promesse, and constant in loue. Fynally let not the women that wylle good, truste in the wiſdome of wyſe men, nor in the flatterye of lyghte folkes: But lette her vertuously regarde her renounie, and beare alwayes of any manne that maketh her any promyſe. For after that the flames of Venus be ſet on fyre, and Cupide hath ſhot his arrowes, the ryche man offereth all that he hath, the poore man all that he may, the wyſe man ſayth he wylle her great frende, and the ſymply alway her ſervauit: the wyſe man wylle loſe his lyfe for her, and the foole wylle take his deathe for her. The olde man wyl ſay, he wylle be frende to her frendes: and the yonge man wyl ſay, he wylle be ennemie to her enmies. Some wil promyſe to pay her debtes, and other to reuege her inturics. Fynally to hyde they; pouertye, and to ſhewe they; beautie, they leauue theſe fooles loſing theiſt perſones and good names. I wyl leauue to ſpeake of good women, for it is not myn entent to lay any thyng to theys; charge, but to aduertysir them well. I demaunde of you amorous ladies, if Platō was there, whan ye made a playe of my lyfe, and drewe my fygure aboue in ROME? So ſurely, is dede by that I ſe in you at this tyme, it is ſuspicious that is ſayd of other. For there is but a fewe in ROME, whome Platō and his lawe dothe excuse. One thyng ye can not deny, if I were the worke of all menne, at the laſte ye haue found

founde the ende of my vilantes. And ye can not denye me,
but she that is leaste yll of you, in all my lyfe I coulde not
shewe the malyce of her lyfe. It is greatt peryll to wyse
women, to be nepghbours to fooles: Great peryll it is to
them that be shamefast, to be with them that be shameles:
great peryll it is to them that be of a meke and styl maner,
to be with them that be boilde and rude: great peryll it is
for them that be chaste, to be with them that lyue in auou-
tore: great peryll it is for the honourable, to be with them
that be dysfamed. For the women defamed, thinke that all
other be defamed, and desyre that they shulde be defamed,
and procure to haue them defamed: and say they be yll fa-
med. And to thentent to couer theyz owne infamy, they in-
fame all other that be good. O you ladies in amours, it is
longe sith ye knew me and I you: and yf ye speke, I speke,
yf ye knowe, I know: if ye be styl, I am styl: yf ye speke
openly, I wyll not speke in secret. Thou knowest wel Aui-
lina, that made the ieste, how Eumedes solde calues deret
in the bouchetie, than thou soldeit the innocent virgins in
thy house. Thou knowest wel Turinga, that one day thou
recknest all thy louers, but thou couldest not tecken them
on thy fyngers, but desyredst to haue a bushel full of pea-
son. And thou Lucia Fulvia knowest well, whan thou
were, thou wotest where, with Breto, and madest peace,
with thy husbande, thou tokest hym asyde, and saydest,
but yf thou myghtest lye out of thy house ones a weeke, he
shuld not lye in the house. And thou Retoxia knowest wel,
that in thy yonge dayes, two peres thou were appoynted
on the see with a Pyrate, so that he shulde take no moo to
satisfye a. C. men of warre in the galeys. Thou Egna Co-
cia knowest well, that whan the censure entred to take the
he founde v. mens gownes, in which thou wentest euer by
nyght: & thou haddest but one womans gowne, that thou

warest on by daye. Thou knowest well Desplane Sabrice, that Alimus Metellus & thou beyngem married, before the Censure demaunded openly his parte, of that thou gaest in thy house with thy secrete louers. And thou Camil knowest well, not beyng content with thyne owne nation, but by reason of the great hauntyng that thou haddest with straungers, thou canst speake all maner of languages. I wyl marke them that haue marke me, & hurte them that haue hurte me, persecute them that haue persecuted me, and infame them that haue infained me: All other my pen doth pardon, bycause they haue perdoned me in their play. And bycause my letter hath begonne in that ye haue done to my person, therfore I wyl ende it in that it feleth of you r good names. And thus I conclude, that a man may scape free fro all domages, with absteynyng fro them: But fro women there is no way, but to flee fro them. Thus I ende and demaunde of the goddis, that I maye se of you; as ye despise to se of me. And sythe ye be louers, I counsell you as ye haue sent me your ieste for a mocke, in lykewyse for a mocke to receyue the answere. Marke Modian to the amorous ladies of Rome.

CA letter sent by Marc the emperour to Boemia a louer of his, that wolde haue gone with hym to the warres. The xv. letter.



Arcke pretour Romayne sent to the warres of Dacy, sendeth salute to the his louer Boemia whiche arte in the pleasures of Rome. I beyng scaped fro the cruell battell, haue red the few lynes wryten with thy hande, and haue harde of the a longe information. I saye to the, thou haste put me in a moxe greate abashement, than the feare of myne

ennemys. In takynge thy letter into my hande, forth-
with the herbe of malice entred into my herte. Whan I
tempre my body with thy delytes. I thynke my hart is fre
fro the venym of thy amours. I of my wyl, and thou by-
cause thou canst do no more, we haue gyuen vs to be free
of our pleasures, I thynke as wel as to make a deuorse of
our enemis. But suche as ye be, so ye do, banyshementes
of amours, and treasures of passyons. The loue of you al
ought to be digested with pyles: but the passyon of one of
you wyl not be oppressed with all the Rubarbe in Alexan-
drie. ye shewe your selfe cruell to pardon an ennemy, and
every daye lyght to chaunge louers. Curiously I haue kept
you al the whyle that delytes ouerpressed my youth: yet I
coude never se in any woman no certayntie, nor reason in
loue, but hate at the last. Thy present lyghtnes quarelleth
with my youth past: and it is bycause thou seest not in me
the auncient wyl toward the, nor the present seruice. And
certaynly herynge thy accusation, and not my iustifica-
tion, as iustly thou paist me with deth, as I pay the with
forgetfulness. The whiche forgettynge is as straunge to
be in hym that serueth, as vngentilnes in the ladye that is
serued. Thinkest thou, that I haue forgotten the lawe of
Venus, where as it commaundeth, that the curios louers
shuld exercise they; strengthes in armes, and occupie they;
hartes in loue: and also that they; apparel be very clene-
ly, they; sete well compassed, they; bodyes stedfast and not
wauetyng, they; boyces loue and softe, and sadde in cou-
tenance: they; eyes open gasyng at wyndowes, and they;
hartes redy to flee in the ayre. Of trouth my loue Boemia,
he is but a grosse louer, that holdethe his wylle in capty-
uitie, and his vnderstandinge free. The vnderstandinge
oughte to be losse, where as wyl is in pynson. I saye this
to thentent that though he myne age haue lefte the exerceise,

R ii yet

yet my spirite hathe not forgotten the art. Thou compla-
nest, because I gyue my selfe to rest, & that I haue greatly
forgotten the. I wyll not deny the trouthe: the day of fo-
getynge maketh the muster of my thoughtes, and reason
whiche is prouisour declareth, that it is not to my graunte
to permitt, that I shuld loue, nor thy age to suffre to be be-
loued. As nowe thou knowest, that dyuers thynges, that
youthe dissimuleth in yonge persons, in age metynteth gre-
uous correction. The dedes done in youthe procede the of
ignorance: but the vilanies done in age procede the of ma-
lyce. Whan I kepte the Cautons, I iected in the stretes,
I sange balades I gased to the wyndowes, I played on
instrumentes, I scaled the walles, I wakened lyght per-
sons: thinkest thou, that I wylt what I dyd in my yowth?
and nowe that I se my selfe promoted fro these pleasures,
and decked with soo many whyte heares, and apparelled
with soo many dolours, I thynke nowe I was not than,
oþ elles I dreame as nowe: not knowynge the wayes that
I haue gone, not seinge the wayes full of stones, I haue
fallen ere I was ware, I haue fallen in snares: seekyn
g guyde, I was entred into the whitlepoole: and by the
grossenes of my boldnes, I was lost, and therfore I haue
deserued pardon. And nowe that I am out of the thornes
and bushes, thou woldest haue me farther in than euer I
was. And now that I can not take the purgations, thou
offereste to me syropes. I haue watched all nyghte, and
touched newly the alarne. Soþ thy ancient amitie I pray
the, and coniure the in the name of the goddis, sythe that
my harte is rebell agaunsbe thy wyll, whiche is rigth dout-
full: cause me to leaue to desire the thus without doubte.
And to thentent that thou shuldest not think any vnkind-
nes in my white heares, as I may argue thy face of ydel-
nes I wyll that we recken what we haue wonne, oþ hope

to wyrne. Shewe me what cometh of these pleasures: the tyme yll spent, good name in scaterynge to pardicion, the patrimonie wasted, the credence loste, the goodis annoyed, the vertues sclaundred, the name of brute beastes got, and surnames of shame: suche ye and we and other be. Thou wrytest in thy letter, howe thou wylte leaue Rome, and come a se me in the warres of Dacy. Seinge thy folys I laugh, and knowledgynge thy boldnesse, I beleue the. And whan I thynke thus I take the letter agayne out of my bosom, & beholde the seale, doubtyng if it be thy letter or not. Thou alterest my pulces and felynges of my hart, & the colour of my face chaungeth, imageringe, that either shame surmounteth in the, or elles grautie fayleth in me. For suche lyghtnes shuld not be beleued, but of lyke light persones. Thou knowest well, he that dothe yll, meritethe peyn soner than he that doth infamy. I wold wytte: whither thou wylt go: Thou hast ben cutte for vertinace, and nowe thou woldest be solde for wyne. Thou beganst fyf as cheries, and thou wylte be laste as quynces: we haue eaten the in blosomes, and thou wylt be lyke the fruite: the nuttes ar very good, but the shales be harde, with strawe and donge thou arte made ryte, and thou art rotten, and if thou be rotte, thou art to be lothed. Thou art not content with. xi. yeres, that thou haste, of the whiche. xv. yeres art passed in last as wyne, that is to be sold: and as strawebries hyd vnder the leaues that are corrupte and rotten. Art not thou Boemia, that lacketh two tethe, the eies hollowed, with white heares, & a riuuled face, one hande loste with the gout, & a rybbe marred with childe beryng? whither wylt thou go: put thy selfe thā in a barel, & caste the & it into the riuer & thou shalt come out al weate. We haue eaten the freshe fyfhe, & nowe thou woldest bring hyther yng rusty old salt fishe in sted therof. O Boemia Boemia, now

I knowe there is no trust in youth, no; hope in age. Thou complaynest, that thou haste nothyng. That is an olde quarell of the amorous ladyes of Rome, whiche takynge all, say they haue nothyng: and that ye lacke of credence, ye do fulfylle with money. Therfore beleue me louynge frende, the folyshe estate, that procedeth of vnlawfull wynnyng, gyueth small suretie and lesse good name to the persone. I can not tell howe thou haste spende so moche. For yf I dze we of my rynges with one hande, thou dyddest open my purse with the other hande. I had greaterter warres with my coffres than, than I haue nowe with myn enemis. I coulde never haue iewell, but thou woldest demad it: for I dyd never deny the. Nowe at this houre I met uayle, for in this myne age I fynde great hynderaunce by my youthe. Thou complaynest of trauayle and pouertye. I am he that hath great nede of that medicine for this o- pilation, and a playster for that soore, and to haue somme colde water for that hote feuer. Art thou not aduysed, that I banyshed my necessarie in the londe of forgetfulnes, and dyd set vp thy wyll for the request of my seruice. In wyn- ter I went all bare, and in sommer charged with clothes, I wente on fote in the myre, & rode in the fayre way: whan I was heuy, I langhed: and whan I was mery, I wepte. For dred I dze we for the my strengthes, and oute of my strengthes cowardise. The nightes to sigh, and on the day to wayte where thou wentest by. Whan thou haddest nede of any thyng, I was fayne to robbe my father for it. Tel me Boemia, with whom fulfylledst thou thy open foltes, but with the yll orders that I putte my selfe to in secrete: wot ye what me semeth by you amorous ladyes of Rome: ye are in the court as the lytel mothes eating olde clothes, and a pastyme for lyght folkes, tresoers of fooles, & sepul chres of vices. This that semeth me is, that is in thy youth euery

every mā gave to the, because thou shuldest gyue þ to eu-
ry mā, now thou giuest thy self to euery mā, bycause euery
mā shuld giue him to the. Thou tellest me, that thou hast
ii. sons, & lackest helpe for them. yelde graces to the goddis
of the pitie that they haue vsed with the, they haue gyuen
to. xvi. chyldren of Fabucio my neyghbour but one father,
& to two of thy chyldren onely, they haue gyuen. i. fathers.
Therefore deuyde them amonge theyr fathers, and euerye
mā shall not haue one synger. Lucia thy doughter in dede
and myn by suspecte, remembre that I haue done more in
marienge of her, thā thou dyd̄it in her procreation. for to
the gettyng of her, thou dyd̄st call dyuers, & to mary her I
dyd̄it alone. I w̄te to the but lyttel, to the respect of that
I wold w̄te. Buttio Cornelio hath spoken moche on thy
parte, he hym selfe shall shewe the as moche of my parte.
It is longe ago syth I knewe thy n̄ impacyence. I knowe
well thou wylt sende me an other letter more malicious. I
pray the syth I w̄te to the secretelī, defame me not opēly
And whan thou redest this letter, remembre what occasyons
thou gyuest me to w̄te, & though þ we be no frendes, yet
wyl I not leue to send the syluer. I send the a ḡowne, & the
goddis be with þ, & bring me out of this warre with peas.
Marke p̄tbour in Dacie to his auncient louer Boemia.

CThe answere to the emperours letter sent by
Boemia. The. xvi. letter.

Boemia thyn ancient louer, to the Marc of
mōnt Celio her mortal enmy. I desyze vē-
geāce of thy person, & yll fortune for all thy
like. I haue recevued thy letter, & therby per-
ceyue thy dānable intētes & thy cruell ma-
lices. Suche yll persons as thou arte haue
this p̄milege, þ sith one doth suffre your vilanies i secret,
ye wyl

M A R C V S

ye wyll hurte them openly, but thou shalt not doo so with
me Marc: for though I be not tresouresse of thy tresours,
yet at leaske I am treasouresse of thyn vlnesse: and where
as I can not reuenge me with my persone, I shall labour
to do it with my tongue. And thynke, that though we wo-
men be weake, and our bodies sone ouercome, yet wyte it
for certayne, that our hartes are never vanquished. Thou
sayest, that scapyng from a battayle thou dyddest receyue
my letter, wherof thou were soore abashed. It is a very
common thyng to them that be weake and slacke, to speke
of loue, wanton fooles to treate of bokes, and to cowar-
des to babble of armes: I say it, by cause the answerynge
to a letter was not of necessitie to reherse to a woman as
I am, whether it were before the battayle or after. I know
well, thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the first that
fought, nor the laste that fled. Whan thou were yonge, I
never sawe the go to the warre, that euer I dredde or had
suspecte of thy lyfe: for knowyng thy cowardyse, I never
toke care for thyne absence, for therin I was moost sur
of thy persone. Than Marc tell me nowe, what thou dost
in thyn age I thinke thou bearest thy speare not for to iust
in the warre, but for to leane on whan the gowte greueth
the. Thy helmette I deme thou bearest with the to dynke
within tauernes, and not to defende the fro the strokes of
swordes: for I never sawe the stryke man with thy swerd,
but I haue knownen the slee a. M. women with thy tonge.
O malicious and vnhappy Marc, if thou were as baly-
aunt as thou arte malycious, thou shuldest be as greatly
dredde of the barbarycke nations, as thou arte hated, as
reasonne is, of the matrones of Rome. Tell me what thy
lyste: at the least thou canste not denye, but as thou hast
ben a weake and slacke louer, soo thou arte nowe a weake
and slacke cowarde knyght, an vnknowen frende, auari-
cious

sious, infamed, malitious, cruell, enemyspe to every man,
& frened to no body. And we that haue knownen the, yonge
stronge and lusty, condempne the so; an olde foole. Thou
sayest that takynge my letter into thy handes, thy harte
toke the poyson of malyce. I beleue it well without swea-
tyng, so; any thyng beynge malitious forthwith syndeth
lodging in thy house. Beastes, that be corrupt, lightly take
the poyson, that they that ben of good complecion caste a-
way. Of one thyng I am in certayn, thou shalt not dye of
poyson. so; one venyng of tentymes. dystroyeth an other
venyng. O malitious Marc, of all they in Rome knewe
the, as well as sorowfull Wormia dooth, they shuld soone
se, what difference were betwene the wordes that thou spe-
kest, and the intention of thy harte. And if by the writinges
that thou makest, thou meritest to haue the name of a phi-
losopher, by the plnes that thou doest inuente, thou doste
merite to haue the name of a tyraunte. Thou sayest, thou
sauest never certitude in the loue of a woman, no; ende
of her hate. I haue great gloze, that other ladyes besyde
me haue knowlege of thy small wisedome. Al se Marc, I
wyll not mocke the, thou arte suche oue, as neuert deser-
ued that one shold begynne to loue the, no; leaue to hate
the. Wylt thou haue certitude in loue, and thou unfayth-
full of thy seruyce? Wylt thou serue with mockeryes, and
woldest be loued truely? Wylt thou enioye the personne
without spendyng of any of thy goodes? Wylt thou haue
no complaynes of the, and thou not ceassyng thy maly-
cess? Thou sayest, thou knowest the plnes of women. I wil
thou know, we be not so folyshe, as thou chynkest, no; thou
so wyse, as thou wenesse, to praysle thy selfe. yet hytherto
hath ben sene mo men, to folowe the appetyte of women,
then there hath ben women folowyng the wylle of men.
In none of borthe is great trust, and yet we bothe practyse

Si that

that one man hath his harte so myghty, to be moxe wiser
 than thre wylse women, and one woman thynketh her so
 strong, to put vnder her feete, and overcome. iii. C. such
 as be lyght. Thou sapest, thou arte abashed of my lyght-
 nes, to leaue Rome, and come to the beyng in the watteres.
 Great is the loue of the countrey, syth that many leaue dy-
 uers welthes that they haue in straunge landes, and lyue
 strayly, for to lyue in theyr owne lande: but greater is my
 loue, syth that I wold leaue Rome with all the pleasures,
 to go and serche for the in strange landes among the cruel
 battayles. O malitious Marke, O straunge louer, yf I
 leaue Rome, it were to go and seke my harte beyng in the
 battayles with the. And certaynly dyuers tymes whanne
 I do thynke on thyne absence, I swoyne and sozoone as
 my hart were not with me, and yet I fynde no persynte re-
 medy. I thynke our loue is not lyke these beastes, that ioy
 of theyr pleasures, without to wyl, and desyre theyr wyl-
 les. I sweare to the by the goddesse Vesta, and by the mo-
 ther Betecinthia, that thou owest me moxe for one daye of
 loue, that I haue had to the, than for the seruices that I
 haue done to the. in. xxii. yeres. Beholde vnbappy Marke,
 howe moche in thy presence I haue always regarded the,
 and in thy absence I haue always thoughte on the, and
 leppynge I haue always dreined of the, I haue wepte
 for thy trauayle, and laughed at thy pleasure, and finally
 all my welch I haue wylshed the, and al thynges I haue
 wylshed me. I ensure the one thyng, that as nowe I fele
 not so moche the persecution that thou doest to me, as I
 do the mysknowlege that thou makest to me. It is a great
 sozoone for an auaricious man to see his goodes loste, but
 without comparison it is farre greater for the louer to se
 his loue yll bestowed. It is a hurt that is alway soore, & a
 peyn alway peynful, a sozow alway sozowful, & it is a deth
 that

that never endeth. O ye men, yf ye knewe with what loue
women loueth you in perkytenes whan they loue, & with
what harte they hate whan they are set to hate: I swere to
you, ye wold never cōpany with thē in loue: or if ye do loue
them, ye wold never leue thē for feare of their hate: & there
is never gret hate, but wherē as moch loue was fyſt. But
thou shalt never be gretly hated, for thou were never truly
loued of ladies. The ſorowfull Boemia hath loued þ. xlii.
yere of her lyfe, & now ſhe only hateth þ tyl after her deth.
Thou ſayest, I may be eaten for veriuyce, and yet I wold
be ſolde for wyne. I knowe well I haue erred, as one that
hath ben yonge and lyght, and whan I perceyued that I
had loſte my way, and that my myſaduenture can fynd no
way nor remedy: It is the greatest loſſe of all loſſes, whan
there is no remedy. I haue erred lyke a feble and a weake
woman, but thou haſt erred as a ſtronge man: I haue er-
red by ſimple ignorance, but thou haſt erred of a prepen-
ſed and wilfull malice: I haue erred, not knowyng that
I ſhulde haue erred, but thou knewest what thou dyddest:
I haue truſted to thy wordes, as to a faythfull gentylle
man, and thou haſte begyled me with a thouſande leſpyn-
ges as a lyer. Tell me dyddest thou not ſeke occaſyon to
comme into my mothers house Getulia, to allure me her
doughter Boemia to thy mynder: Dyddeste thou not pro-
myſe my father to teache me to rede in one yere: and thou
taughteſte me to rede the boke of Ouidius, of the arte of
loue: Dyddest thou not ſwear to be my hufbaunde, and
than wichd̄ewest thy hande as a falſe aduouitree: Doest
thou not knowe, that thou never foundeſt villanie in my
perſonne, nor I never foundeſt trouthe in thy mouther: At
leaſt thou canſt not denye, but thou haſt offendēd the god-
dis, and arte infamed of men, & odious to the Romaynes,
ſclaundred of good folkes, and example to the yll folkes.

Sol ii and

and fynally a traytour to my father and mother, a breker
 of thy faythe, and to me so sorrowfull Boemia an unkynde
 louer. O malycious Marc, hast thou not cutte me in lea-
 ues, offerynge to my father to kepe his vynes surely? Ill
 may the chekyn truste the kyte, or the lambes the wolues:
 A worse the to bryng vp the doughters of the that be good.
 O cursed Marke, o damageable keper of vines hathe the
 matrones of Rome founde the, in keppynge they dough-
 ters: I swere, that there was neyther grape nor cluster,
 but it was eaten or cut by the. Thou dyddest eat me beyng
 grene. I promyse the it hath sette thy tethe on an yll edge.
 Thou sayest, I ryped by powre of heate and strawe. It
 displeaseith me not so moche, that thou sayest, as thou gy-
 uest me occasyon to saye to the. Thy shame is so shameful,
 and thy malycie so unshamefaste, that I can not aunswere
 the to the pourpose, withoute hurtynge or touchynge the
 quycke. I wolde wytte of the, whan thou marcedist Fa-
 styn, whether thou foundest her grene or ripe? Thou kno-
 west well, and like wyse so do I, that other besyde the, gau-
 ged the vessel, and thou drankest the lies: other gathered
 the grapes, and thou gleynedist the vine: other dyd eat the
 grapes, and thou haddest the huskes. O wycked Marke,
 beholde thyne eylles, and howe the goddis haue gyuen
 the iust chastyment, that thou beyng yong meritedist not
 to be desyred of thy louers, nor that thy wyses kepe feiche
 to the in thyne age. For to be aduenged of thy persone, I
 nede none other thyng, but to se the marped to Faustyn.
 By the mother Berecynthia I promyse the, þ yf thy small
 wisedome myghte attayne to knowe entierly, what is said
 of her and the in Rome, surely thou woldest wepe myghte
 and day for the lyfe of Faustyn, and not leue the thought-
 full Boemia. O Marc, lytell thoughte is taken for the, i
 how fer is out vnderstadpug uncoupled for thy thought-
 tes:

nes: bycause that with thy great doctrine by dape tyme thy house is made a schol of philosophers, and the wantonnesse of thy wyle Faustyn by nyghte, maketh it a bordell of ruffians. It is a iuste iugement of the goddis, that sith thy n onely malyce suffiseth to poyson many that be good, that one alone may suffise to vnbend & lose thy renoume. One difference there is betwene the and me, and thy wyle Faustyn: so; my dedes are but in suspecte, and yours are openly knownen in dede: myne are secrete, and yours are evident: I haue stōbled, but ye haue fallen. Of one thyng alone I haue merited to be chastised, but ye haue deserued no forgyuenes: My dishonour is deed with the faut, and is buried with myn amēdement, but your infamie is borne with your desyres, and is broughte vp with your wylles, and lyueth styll with your werkes: finally therfore your infamie shall never dye, so; you lyued never well. Of malicious Marcus, with all that thou knowest, wotest thou not, that for losynge of a good name, an yll fame is recovered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, begynneth a good faame? Thou ceassest not to say ylle onely by suspycyon, the whiche thy false iugementes shewe the: and yet thou woldest we shulde not speake that we se with our eyes. Of one thyng be thou sure, that neyther of the, nor of thy wyle Faustyn there is no false wytnesse: so; the trouth is so evident, that there nedeth not to inuent any lyes. Thou sayst, that it is an olde quarel of amorous ladies of Rome that in takinge fro many we are the pooreste of all other: because we haile in credence, we are honoured for syluer. It is of certayntie, that we mystruste the hollie because of his prickes, the acornes, so; his huskes, the roses among nettles, and thy mouth so; thy malyce I haue curiouslye taken heede, that thou never sayest well by women, nor I never could fynde, that any woldethe good. What great-

Se III. tet

ter correction shuld I haue of thy wickednes, or more ven-
 geance for myn iniurie, but to be certayne, that all the lo-
 uynge ladyes of Rome are sorwe of thy lyfe, and wolde be
 gladde of thy dethe: The lyfe of that man is wycked, that
 many bewayle, and in whose dethe every body reioyseth.
 It is the propertie of poore vnykynde persons as thou art,
 to forgette the great goodnesse done to them, and to be so-
 ty for the lyttell that they gyue. As moche as noble hertis
 gloriifie them in gyuynge to other, so moche are they asha-
 med to receyue seruices vnrewarded. For in gyuynge they
 make them selfe lordes, and in receyuyng they are as scla-
 ues. I wolde wytte what thou hast gyuen me, or what
 thou haste receyued of me: I haue aduentured my good
 name, and gyuen the possessyon of my personne: I haue
 made the lord and mayster of all my goodes: I haue ba-
 nyshed my selfe out of my countrey, and putte my selfe in
 peryl onely for thy sake: and in recompence of al this, thou
 reprochest me nowe of miserie. Thou never gauest me any
 thyng with thy good wyl, nor I never receyued it wyllyng
 ly, nor it dyd me never profyt. If thynges recover a name,
 not for the common warke that we see, but for the secretes
 intention with the whiche we warke. And thou unhappy
 man desiredst me, not to enioye my persone, but rather to
 haue my money. We ought not to cal the a clere louer, but
 a thefe, & a wyly see rouer. I had a lyttell tyng of the, whi-
 che I am determyned to caste into the ryuer, and the clo-
 thyng that I had of the I haue brent in the fyre. And yf
 that my body were any thyng ameded with the bread that
 I haue eaten of thyn, I wolde cutte my fleshe, and let ouer
 the blode without any feare. O cursed Marke, thy darke
 malycie wolde not suffre the clere to vnderstande my let-
 ter: for I intended not to aske moneye, to relieue my po-
 uertie and solitarinesse, but reknowlegynge and thyng-
 lyng

byngē to satisfie my wyllyng herte. Suche wayne and co-
uetous manne as thou arte thy selfe, are pleased with gyf-
tes, but the hartes incarnate in loue are lyttell satysfyed
with syluer. For loue onely is payde with loue agayne.
The manne that loueth not as a manne of reasone, but
as a brute beaste, and the woman that loueth not but for
the intereste of her persone: such ought not to be trusted in
thep; wodes, nor their persones desyred. For the loue of
her endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and the loue of hym,
whan her beautie fayleth. If thy loue proceded onelye of
the beautie of my face, and my loue onely for the money of
thy pours: it were no ryghte, that we were callyd wyse
louers, but rather very nyce persons. O wycked Marke,
I neuer loued the for thy goodes, though thou louedst me
for my beautie: with all my herte I loued the than, & with
all my harte I hate the now. Thou sayst the goddis haue
shewed me great pitie, to gyue me fewe chyldeyne, and to
them many fathers. The greatest blame in women is to
be vnshamesaste, and the mooste bylanie in men is to be yll
sayers. Dyuers thinges ought to be suffred for the fragilitie
of women, whiche are not permittid in the wylsome of
men. I say this bycause I neuer sawe temptaunce in the
for to couer thyne owne malices, nor wylsdone to excuse
the debilitie of other. Thou sayest, that my sonnes haue
dyuers fathers. I sweare unto the, that though thou dye,
the chyldeyne of Faustine shall not be fathertelle. And of
trouthe if the goddis, as thou sayest, haue be pitifull to
my chyldeyn, no lesse art thou to strange children. For Fa-
ustine keþeth the but to excuse her blame, and to be tutour
of her chyldeyn. O cursed Marke, thou mayst well reioyce &
take no thoughte, for thyne owne chyldeyn haue noo nede
to be maried. For come thyngē we are bounde, that is for
the example, the whiche thou doſte gyue of thy pacience:

For

M A R C U S

For sythe thou suffrest faustine in so many infamies, it is no great nede that we suffre any secrete in the. I saye no more at this tyme, makynge an ende of my letter, desyryng the ende of thy person.

CA letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Martine a yonge mayden of Roine, of whom he was enamoured, seinge her at a wyndowe.

The xvi. letter.



Arke thempertour, the very desyrous, to the Martine greatly desyred. I wote not if by good aduenture of myn yll aduenture, or by yll aduenture of my good aduenture, I dyd see the of late at a wyna-
dow, where as thou woldest thy arms
as close as myn eien were spred abyode,
that cursed be they for euer. For in beholding thy face, my
harte for the with abode with the as pynsoner. The begyn-
nyng of thy knowlege is the ende of my reason, and fel-
lynge of flyght. Of one trauaile cometh infinite trauailes to me, I say it for this, if I had not ben ydel, I had not
gone out of my howse, and yf I hadde not gone out of my
howse, I had not gone oute into the strees, and yf I had
not passyd through the strete, I hadde not sene the at thy
wyndowe, and yf I hadde not sene the at thy wyndowe, I
had not desyred thy persone: and not desyryng thy person,
I had not put thy name in so great perylle, nor my lyfe in
trauaile, nor had gyuen none occasion in al Rome to speke
of vs. Of a trouth lady Martine in this case I condemne
my selfe, syth I wold beholde the. And thou woldest be sau-
luted, syth thou desyredst to be sene. And syth thou were set
as a whyte marke, it was no great metuaylle that I shot
with

with the arbowes of myne eyes at the buttes of thy beauty,
with rolyng eyes, with browes bent, well coloured face,
incarnate certhe, cuddy lyppes, cryspe heares, handes sette
with vnges, clothed with a. M. maner of clothynge,
baryng purses full of swete smelles, and bacelettes full
of knackes, with perles and stones at the eares. Tell me
what becometh of a woman, with these thynge, that wyll
shewe her selfe at a wyndowe. The mooste cause is, that
I can esteme or thynde therin, that sith you do shewe your
bodies openly to vs at the eie, that your wyll is, that we
shulde knowe your despres secretely. And yf it be so, as I
affirme, that it is so, it semeth me madame Matrine, thou
shuldest desyre hym that desyret the, to enforne hym that
setcheth the, to answere hym that calleth the, & fele that he
feleth intende to hym that intendeth to the: and sith I
vnderstande the, vnderstande me, and vnderstande sythe
thou doest not vnderstande. I am aduysed, as I went by
the strete falaria to se theues putte to iustyce, myne eyen
sawe the at a wyndowe, on whome dependeth all my de-
sires. Thou doest more iustyce to me, then I do to the the-
ues: for I berynge at iustyce, thou hast iusticed the iustice,
and none dare pcyne the. The gybette is not so cruell to
them that never knew but yl doing, as thou art to me that
never thought, but howe I myghte doo the scuyce. The
theues suffre but one death, and thou makest me to suffre
a. M. in a daye. In one houre the theues liues are ended,
and I dye euery mynute: I drawe towarde death wong-
fully, and they suffre for they fautes: I suffre an innocet
the openly, and I in secrete. So what shall I saye more to
the of trouthe they wepe watty droppes with they eyes,
bycause they dye, and I wepe teares of bloud in my harte,
bycause I lyue. This is the dyffrence, they tormentes
spredeth abrode through all they bodies, and I kepe myn
toge-

M A R C V S

together in my hart. O cruell Mattrine, I canne not telle
what iustice it is to put men to dethe that steale money, &
suffre women to lyue that robbe mennes hartes: If they
cares be cut of, that picke mens poures, why are women
than pardoned, that robbe mens inwardre hartes and en-
traples? By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddesse
Venus I coniure the, eyther answere to my desyre, or elles
restore my harde agayne, whiche thou hast robbed fro me.
I wolde thou knewest the clere fayth of my harde, rather
than this letter witten with my hande. If myn aduenture
were so good, as to speke with the, and that thy loue were
not ashamed therof, I wolde hope with the syght & speche
to wynne that whiche I am in suspecte to lese by my letter.
The reason is, bytcause thou hereste my ylle and rude rea-
sons redyng in my letter. And if thou sawest me, thou shul-
dest see the cruelle teares that I sotte to the by my lyfe. I
wolde my mouth coulde publyshe myn enraged ryples,
as my harde feleth, than I swere to the lady Mattrine, that
my greuous dolour shulde awake thy small thought. And
as thy beatie & myn affection haue made me thy obwe,
so the knowlege of my passion shuld make the mine. I de-
syre that thou shuldest regarde the begynnyng, and ther-
with regarde the ende. Certaynly the same day that thou
enprisonedst my harde at thy wyndowe, in the dounegon
of my desyres, I had no lesse weakenesse to be ouercome,
thanne thou haddeste force to constraine me. And moxe
gretter is thy power to putte thy selfe from me, than my
reason is to putte me fro the, I aske no mercye of the, but
that we myghte declare oure wylles togyther. But in
this case what wylte thou that I sholde say, but that thou
hast so moch power ouer me, and I so lytel of my lybertie,
that wyl I nyll I, my harde can not be but thyne? And hit
beyng thyne, thou mayste, and wylte not declare thy selfe
to be

to be myn. And siche it may not be, but that my lufe must be condemned in thy seruice, be thou as sure of my fayth as I am doubtfull of thy hope: for I shall haue a greater welthe to be loste for thy sake, thanne to wynne any other thyng. I wyll saye no more atte this tyme, but that thou accompte my perdition and deathe, and drawe the lyfe of my teares into open ioye. And bycause that I holde my fayth in thy fayth, and wyll never despayre in thy hope, I sende to the x. lycell rynges of golde, with x. stones of Ilerandy. And I coniure the by the immortall goddis, that whan thou doest pus theym on thy fyngers, thou sette me in thyn harte and entrayles, Marcus amorous wrote this with his owne hande.

CIn other letter sente by Marc the emperour to the sayde gentyl woman Mattrine.

CThe x. but letter.



Arke habitant at Rome, to the Mattrine his right swete ennemy. I cal the swete, for it is iuste that I dye for the. And I cal the enemy, bycause thou makest not an ende to sle me. I can not tel wherin it is but syth the feaste of Iano hitherto, I haue written thre letters to the. And to þ answere of them, I wold that I had sente two letters from the, if it were thy pleasure. If that I serue the, thou woldest that I shulde not serue: if I speke, thou wilt not speke to me, if I loke at the, thou wylte not beholde me: if I call the thou wylt not answere: if I visite the, thou wylte not se me: yf I wryte to the, thou wylt gyue me none answere, & wrost of all, yf other do shewe the of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke therof. And yf I had as moch knowledge,

CIt ii where

tryne, I holde my selfe vanquysshed: yf thou wylte lose me, I holde me for loste: yf thou wylt sle me, I yeld my self as deade. So by the gesture that I make afore thy gate, and the sygnes that I make in myn owne house, are gretly myne to resyste, and the gretuous assaut of the, be edifices more to sommon deth, thanne to defende the life: If thou wylte that I scape this daunger, deny me not the remedy, bycause it shalbe a greater vice in the to sle me, than wilany to gyne me remedy. And it were no iuste thunge for so small a pypce to lose the fayth of so gret seruyce. I wote not what to do, to make the my debtour, and thou to pay me. And yet wrost of all, I wote not what to do, nos what to thinke nos to say, nos to whom to determine me, because I can not assure any porfyte in me, but to be certayne in thy seruices. And because thou doste tryste hym that hath done this message, by hem I do send this open letter, and my secrete answere. I do send the a iewell of perles, and a besond of gold. To the goddis I do commende the. And I require the for to receyue it with as good a wyl as I do presente it vnto the. Mare the oratour to the righte hono-
table Matrine.

Calletter sent by Marc the emperor to Ly-
bia a fayre lady Romayne.

Cthe. xi. letter.

Make full of sorowe and pensyfenes, to the Ly-
bia takynge but lytell thought or care: yf thy
small thought passed any thunge on me, & also
if my troubles & dolours were lodged & dydde
rest in þ, þā thou shuldest perceyue & se howe
smal the quarel were, þ which I make to the, in respecte of
the

the tourment that I do suffre, yf the blasynges flames si-
sued oute, as the syred brondes do brenne me within, the
smoke wolde reache to the heuens, and make ymbres of
the erthe: yf thou doest well remembre the fyfthe tyme that
I sawe the in the temple of the virgins vestales, thou be-
yng there praydste the goddis for thy selfe, and I on my
knees prayed the for my selfe. I knowe well thou offredst
hony and oyle to the goddis, and I offred to the soore we-
pynges and syghes. It is a iuste thyng to gyue more to
 hym that offred his inwarde entrayles, than to hym that
 draweth money out of his purse to offre. I haue determi-
ned, and disposed me, to write to the this letter, that thou
shuldest se howe thou arte scrued with the arowes of myne
eies, that were shotte at the whyte of thy serupces. Alas,
howe sorrowfull am I to thynke, least the calme tyme now,
doth threten me with the tempest to come. I wyll say, that
dissoue in the, causest the hope doubtfull in me. Beholde
what my saducture I had loste a letter, and I as I retour-
ned to the temple to seke for it, I hadde nere loste my selfe,
in goyng thyther so often, cōsydering my smal merite. I se
well, that myne eies the ladders of my hope, are set on soo
by a walle, that no lessse is the doubte of my fall, than the
daunger of the clymmyng uppe. Thou bowynge dawne
the leaues of thy hysgh mercyes, haste broughte me to the
poynte of continuall seruice. Lette me haue the fruyte, and
gyue the leaues to whome thou wylte. By the immortalle
goddis, I haue great meruayle, for surely I thought that
in the temple of the virgins Vestales, no manne shoulde
haue had temptacions. But as nowe I doo synde by ex-
perience, that that woman is more lyberall, and sooner o-
uercome, that is faste and straightly kept and watched, than
other. All the corporal damages are fyfth hard of, er they be
knownen, and knownen er they be sene, and sene er they be
felte,

felte, and felte, er they be tasted, yet it is not so in loue. For fyfth they fele the stroke therof, er they see the way howe it cometh. The lyghtnyng is not so sodeyne, but it is sens afoore the thonder clappe, nor the wall falleth not so sodeynly, but fyfth some stones breake a sonder, nor the colde cometh not so faste on, but some smalle shewrynges cometh before: but all onely loue is not felte till it be settled in the entayles. Let euery man knowe it that knowe it not, and thou lady Libie yf thou wylt, knowe: Loue speþeth whan we wake, and waketh whan we slepe, and laugheth whan we wepe, and weþeth whan we laugh: it assurethe in takynge, and taketh in assuryng: And speaketh whan we be styll, and is styll whan we speke: And fynally it is of that condicion, that for to gyue vs that we desyre, it causeþ us to lyue in peyne. I sweare to the, whan my wyll becamme thy seruaunte, and thy beautie caused, that thou were my lady, whan I was in the temple and returned agayn thyþher, not desyþinge the, thou beheldest me, and I as vnþappy loked on the. But O what a thoughte came to me, that my harte beyng hole, thou haste dyuyded, beyng in helthe thou haste hurt, beyng alyue thou haste slayne, beþinge myn thou haste stolen it, and that worsþ of all is, not helþynge to my lyfe, thou consentest that loue assayle me to the deth. Many tymes lady Libia consyderynge that al my thoughtes ben hygh, and my fortune lowe, I wolde haue seperate my selfe fro the. But consyderynge that my trauayles are well applyed in thy seruyces, I say thoughte I myght, I wyll not be seperate fro the. I wyll not denye one thyng, and that is, that cursed loue taketh awaþe the taste of all thynges, and yet therþ alonly it gyueth vs appetite, the whiche gyueth vs moche yll proukyte. This is the profe of hym that loueth hartily. For one disfaour of hym that is beloued, is more than all the fauour of this lyfe

lyfe. I thinke lady Libia thou art gretly abashed to se me
outwarde as a philosopher, and to knowe me inwarde a
secrete louer. I praye the Lybia discouer me not: for yf
that the goddis gyue me longe lyfe, I am mynded for to
amende. And though I be at this howre but a yonge
foole in the arte of loue, whan I am olde I shall be wyse:
the goddis knowe what I desyre, and the force that I do
enforce me to: but as the fleshe is weake, and the hart ten-
der, and hath many occasions and fewe vertues, and the
woldē subyll, and the people malitious, I passe this be-
gynning and spring of floures with hope that in haruest
I shall haue some fruite. Dame Libia doest thou thinke,
that philosophers though they were never so sage, be not
stryken with the cruelties of loue: and that vnder theyz
cours clothes their fleshe is not smothe? Certainly among
the harde bones softe fleshe is b̄ed, vnder the sharpe hul-
kes the chestnutte is nouysshed. I saye that vnder course
apparell, is true and perfyte loue. I deny not but that our
slacke nature resystance not with vertues: nor I denye not,
but there be yonge wanton desyres not repressed with ver-
tuous purposes: I deny not, but that the bytē of youthe
is not refreyned with the b̄ydell of reason: I denye not,
but that that the fleshe procureth, is dyuers tymes with-
stande by wyldeome. And also I knowege well, that he
that is not amorous, is a foole. And thou knowest, that
thoughe we be wyse, we leaue not therfore to be men. All
that euer we letne in all oure lyues suffiseth not to knowe
howe to rule the fleshe one houre. To wyse menne in this
case hathe fallen many errours: there be many maystres
in vertues, and many moo hathe bene, and yet they haue
ben overcome with vices: wherfore than doest thou mer-
uyle of me alone? I confesse of trouthe, that I had ne-
uer myne understandyng so clere, as whan Cupyde fan-

M A R C V S

ned wind on me with his winges. There was never none
vnto my tyme, that euer was noted wyse, but fyft he was
a prisoner & bound with the loue of Cupide. Statian was
amorous on Tamys: Solon Salaminus giuer of the la-
wes, was amorous of Greciane: Pytacus Mitelenus
lefte his owne wyfe, and was enamored of a bond woman,
that he broughte from the walces. Cleobulus of Catia
whan he was ful .ix. yere olde, and had redde philosophie
xlv. yere, scalyng the house of his neyghbour, felle of the
ladder and dyed. Periander prince of Acaye, and a great
philosopher of Grece, at þ prayer of one of his louers slew
his wyfe. Anacharsis a philosopher a Scithian of his fa-
ther syde, and a greke of his mother syde, was so enamo-
red of a woman of Thebes, that he taught her all his cun-
nyng: and whan he was sycke in his bedde, she redde in
the schole for hym. Epimenides of Crete, that slepte .xv.
yeres without waking, and though he was .x. yere a great
woþhypper of the goddis, yet he was banysshed frome A-
thenes for the loue of women. Archyta Tarentyn, mas-
ter of Plato, and disciple of Pythagoras, occupied his
mynde more to inuente the kindes of loue, than his forces
in doctrynes of vertues. Gorgio Cleontino, boorne in Sy-
cyll, kepte rather concubines in his chambree, than bokes
in the scoles. All these were wyse men, and yet we maye
se, howe at the laste they were ouercome with the fleshe.
Than blame not me alone: for as I haue tolde of so fewe
in noumbre, so I coude recpte of other a holle armye. Of
trouth he ought to haue many thynges, that wylle be ta-
ken as curious in loue. He muste haue his eien displayed
on her that he loueth, his vnderstandinge soþ altered in
that he thinketh, his tonge troubled in that he shulde saye:
So that in setinge he be blynded, in thoughtes wandring,
and in speakyng troubled, O lady Libia, the louyng in
mocke-

mockerie passeth by mockerie: but where as the true harte is, there is the grefe and no mockerie. Loue shedeth her popsone, and ctruell Cupydo fyret his arrowes vppre to the fethers. Than the eien wepe, the harte syghethe, the flesche trespbleth, the synewes shrynke, the vnderstan-
dynge wareth grosse, reason fayleth, and so all falleth to the erthe, so that fynally the heup louer abydynge in hym selfe, holdeth lytell or nothyng of hym selfe. All this I say, because that knowlege to loue fayleth in me: yet be ye sure, that the woxkes fayle me not to woxke in thy seruice. And syth it was myne aduenture to see the, nowe it is my chaunce to knowe the, I demaunde nothyng elles of the, but that thou wylte loue me truely, sythe I loue the with-
oute faynynge. And if thou haste harde, that I am sycke at my harte, I desyre the to do me some good: for sythe it is all onely in the, it is reason that thou all onely seke for remedy. I was greatly comforde, whan Fabius Carly-
nus desyred me in thy behalfe to be a prisoner, and I dyd incontinent all that thou dyddest desyre, to the entente that thou on some daye shuldest do that I desyre. And beholde lady Lybia, the woman that is serued with seruyces, it is reasonne that she receyue some prayers. And though my strengthes haue no power to open the gates of thy pout-
pose, as not to agree to thy demaunde, yet all my labours be bycause of thy renoume. I praye the discouer not the one, nor begyle me not with the other. For nowe thou seest that in grauntyng is remedy, and in trusse is comforde, but promesse is deceyuable, the delayenge is peryllous, and the entreatyng byndeth. I see verye welle, that the hasty demaunde deserueth a longe aunswere: but I wold not that thou shuldest do so: but as I desyre the, soo de-
syre me. I saye agayne, I am all thynne, and not myne owne, And as for my selfe in al thynges I wyll serue the.

M A R C V S

And lady Libia regard, that it were as moche honour for
 the, as profytalbe for me, to rourne thy disordinate desy-
 tes and purposes. For thou seest well it is moch better to
 heale shortly than to late with faylyng of thy purpose.
 All women kepe one daungerous oppynyon, that is, they
 wyll neuert receyue counsell that is gyuen them in a great
 cause: and if it be so, as I thynke, sythe thou arte praysed
 and esteemed of great beautie, than be esteemed to receyue
 good counsell. And in this maner in case that my domage
 be very great, and thy pacience very lyttell, I shalbe cal-
 led wise to gyue the suche counsell, and thou ryghte gra-
 tious to folowe it. One thyng I saye, and pardone me,
 though I shewe it to the, howe that woenen be greatly in-
 famed, that wyll take no counsell, and suche as wyll as-
 sure their renoume by the opinion of other, as moche as
 though they were determinyd so to doo their selfe. Wher-
 fore I wolde ye shuld do one thyng for an other, as I cou-
 sayle you. And if thou fyndest any ylle therby, withdrawe
 thy hande. I wyll say no more to the, but that I doo pre-
 sente to the al my vnhappy troubles, my desperate syghes,
 and my seruyces as thy seruaunt: My troubled dolours,
 my wordes of philosophie, and my amorous teares. Also
 I sende the a gyrdelle of golde, and I gyue it the on the
 condition, that thou sette thyne eies theron, and apply thy
 harre to me. I pray the goddis to gyue me to the, and the
 to me. Marcus Aurelius the philosopher wryteth this in
 very great secrete.

¶ THVS ENDETH THE GOLDEN Boke of the
 eloquente Marc Aurelie empetour: who so euer be redre
 thereof maye take it by reason, for a ryche and a newe la-
 bour, and specially puryncis and gouernours of the com-
 mon welth, and mynisters of iuskyce with other. Also the
 common people eche of them maye fynde the labour con-
 uenient

wentente to their estate. And therin is conteyned certayne
right hygh and profounde sentences, and holsom counse-
les, and meruaylous deyses ageynst thencumbraunce of
fortune: and ryght swete consolations for them that are o-
uerthowen by fortune. Finally it is good to them that di-
geste it, and thanke god that hath gyuen suche grace to a
papnym, in gyuynge vs exaumple of vertuous lyuyng,
with hye and salutary doctrines and meruaylous instruc-
tions of perfectnes. Certainly as great prayse as oughte
to be gyuen to the auctour, is to be gyuen to the transla-
tors, that haue labouredly reduced this treatise oute of
Greke into Latin, and out of Latin into Castilian, and out
of Castilian into frenche, and out of frenche into englishe,
writen in high and swete styles. O ryght happy trauayle,
lythe that suche fruyte is issued therof. And also blesyd
be the handes that haue wrytten hit. A ryghte precyous
meate is the sentences of this boke: But finally the sauce
of the sayd swete style moueth the appetite. Many bokes
theretofore be of substancial meates, but they be so rude and
so vnsauety, and the style of so smal grace, that the
fyre moysell is lothesome and noyfull: And of
suche bokes foloweth to lye hole and sounde
in Lyb;aries, but I truste this wylle
not. Of trouthe great prayse is
due to the auctour of his
trauayll. And syth
there can be no
grace equi-
polent
in erthe, lette vs praye to god to
gyue hym grace & rewarde
in heuen. Amen.
Graces to god.
FINIS.

Thus endeth the volume of Marke Aurelie emp-
touer, otherwise called the golden boke, translated oute of
Frenche into Englyshe by John Woutchier knyghte
loide Barnes, deputie general of the kynges
towne of Caleis and marches of the same,
at the instat desire of his nephewe sy;
Francis Bypayn knyghte, ended
at Caleis the tenth day of
Marche, in the yere
of the Reygne
of our so-
uerayn
loide kynge H E N R Y
the. viii. the
xxiiii.



LONDINI IN AEDIBVS THO-
MAE BRTHELETIRE-
GII IMPRESSORIS.
ANNO. M.D.XXXVIII.

CVM PRIVI-
LEGIO.

